

7 OBJECTS ATTRIBUTABLE TO KĀMID EL-LŌZ AND COMMENTS ON THE DATE OF SOME OBJECTS IN THE 'SCHATZHAUS'

by Christine Lilyquist

7.1 INTRODUCTION

While undertaking comparative research for objects from the Egyptian tomb of Tuthmosis III's three Asiatic wives near Luxor (his reign 1479-1425 B.C.), I have had occasion to study the site of Kāmid el-Lōz, particularly its 'Schatzhaus' (royal tomb).¹ The site was well-dug in modern times; its remains are diverse. Its wealth and location in ancient Retenu made it a place that would have interested the ancient Egyptians. Indeed, when Tuthmosis III lists the products brought back from one of his campaigns to Retenu,² he lists „the daughter of a chief, together with her ornaments of gold and lapis lazuli of her land, and the retainers belonging to her, male and female slaves, thirty of them“³ The home of one of the queens buried in the Wady Qirud could have been Kāmid el-Lōz, generally associated with the Kumidi that Tuthmosis mentions in list 1 at Karnak.⁴

As a museum curator since 1970, I have also heard of „Kāmid el-Lōz“ objects which came to light on the international art market. Over the past two years I have persistently investigated these accounts, and am convinced that the objects I publish here came from the site. Accounts and lists indicate that they were found together, at the same time. One object is a pot (no. 01) the handle of which was found by the Expedition in the 'Schatzhaus' (Fig. 33; Miron no. 670); other objects match distinctive items found there by the Expedition (nos. 02, 05-06). Additionally, some objects are similar to the Expedition's finds (nos. 08-012, 018, 021, 022). Most of the remainder do not have any explicit parallels but, as far as I can tell, would not be out of place (nos. 03-04, 07, 013-014, 017, 019-020).⁵ I have personally studied items 02-06 and 016-017; obtained photographs, drawings, and descriptions of nos. 01 and 07-015; and heard descriptions only for nos. 018-022.

1 I wish to record my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Rolf Hachmann for his exceptional generosity with data, at that time unpublished, and for the facilities he offered in June 1989 at Saarbrücken.

2 Urk. IV 669 1-3, in: K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie III. Historisch-Biographische Urkunden den Anfang der Regierung Thutmosis' III und die Geburt der Hatschepsowet betreffend* (*Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums, IV. Abteilung, Heft 3*), Leipzig 1907. Sethe discusses whether the list is from year 24 or 40 and opts for 40 (see pp. 667-672), as does D. Redford (personal communication, 5/92).

3 From the *Annals at Karnak*, quoted from A. Schulman, *Diplomatic marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, in: *JNES* 38, 1979, p. 187.

4 W. Helck, *Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien*, p. 128, from J. Simons, *Handbook for the study of Egyptian topographical lists relating to Western Asia*, Leiden 1937, pp. 109-116; R. Hachmann, in: *Berytus* 37, p. 91.

5 For nos. 015-016 see below.

01. Late Minoan IB bridge-spouted jar

Pl. 16; Fig. 34, p. 211

Height 24.1 cm. to lip, greatest diameter of body 28.0 cm.

This jar is reconstructed from fragments. Obvious restorations include the handle, the wall surrounding its base, and a large area below the handle which would have included three arcades.

Parts of similar ware were found by the Expedition in 1978: a handle with adjacent wall, a fragment with lozenge, and two fragments with parts of two arcades which seemed to belong with them (Miron no. 670).⁶ The sherds were in room S (Fig. 33), one possibly in room T (chapter 3.3.3.2.4 with note 94). Very close to floor level (Pl. 41,3-4), they were assigned to level 4b₃ (= P4d).

A profile drawing prepared by Brian Garvey and a photograph of the pot, on which the restored handle and adjacent part is indicated (Fig. 34; Pl. 16), should be compared with the drawings of the Expedition's handle and adjacent wall (Miron figs. 82-83). Short of disassembling all fragments and trying the pieces together, it seems clear that the pot and the Expedition's handle/wall belong to the same vessel. Additionally, the Expedition's lozenge fragment might have occurred immediately to the right of the Expedition's large assembly, and the Expedition's arcade fragments might have been under the handle (this restored area on the vessel is not indicated in the photograph or drawing). In other words, the pot from the art market must have come from the area of the 'Schatzhaus'.

The jar belongs to LM Ib, an example of P. Bétancourt's „abstract and geometric style“ (running spiral above arcading) within the „Special Palatial styles“, as outlined in his survey⁷ and in a paper of 1975.⁸ The latter study connects the vessels to Cretan manufacture and lists their findspots as Knossos, Zakros, Palaikastro, and Pseira (the Taanach example is perhaps later, against P. Warren and V. Hankey).⁹

Two vases of the general style have been found in Egypt: a tall alabastron at Sedment and a squat alabastron at Aniba. B. Kemp/R. Merrillees dated them early Dynasty 18,¹⁰ J. Weinstein taking the Aniba alabastron through the reign of Tuthmosis III.¹¹ The LM Ib period is commonly equated with LH IIa; J. Bourriau, on the basis of Aegean pottery found in Egypt, puts LH IIa in Dynasty 18 before Tuthmosis III,¹² a correlation now supported by her report of a BR I flask in a late Second Intermediate context at Memphis.¹³

02. Four gold granulated tubes

Pls. 18,2; 19; 20

with nos. 03 and 04. Length 0.9 cm., 1 cm., 1 cm., and 1.1 cm.

Five cylinders of this type were found in 1978 in room T (Miron nos. 2-6), again very close to floor level. I have found no parallel for this object type other than in the 'Schatzhaus'; and as the measurements and workmanship of the two groups match exactly, I believe it virtually certain that the four cylinders described here came from the tomb.

Each of the four cylinders was made of rolled sheet metal (a seam is visible along the length). A wire borders each end; against it is a series of granular triangles which point inward. In the best made cylinder (the shortest one), the granular triangles are separated by a single row of grains.

6 R. Miron, *Kāmid el-Lūz* 10.

7 P.P. Betancourt, *Minoan Pottery*, pp. 146f.

8 P.P. Betancourt, Some new attributions to Minoan Ceramic workshops, in: Abstracts of papers delivered in art history sessions [63rd Annual Meeting College Art Association, Jan. 22-25, 1975], Washington D.C., pp. 146f.

9 P. Warren and V. Hankey, *Chronology*, pp. 142f.

10 B.J. Kemp and R.S. Merrillees, *Minoan pottery in second millennium Egypt*, Mainz 1980, pp. 242,244.

11 J. Weinstein, Tomb SA 17 at Aniba and its 'Aegean' Vase, in: P.P. Betancourt, *Minoan Objects Excavated from Vasilike, Pseira, Sphoungaras, Priniatikos Pyrgos and Other Sites*, Philadelphia 1983, pp. 83-86.

12 New York Aegean Seminar, 2/15/89 and reaffirmed 12/90; she would even put IIb there, as against P. Warren and V. Hankey, *Chronology*, pp. 139,144.

13 J. Bourriau, Memphis/Kom Rab'a, 1990, in: *Bulletin de liaison du groupe international d'étude de la céramique égyptienne* 15, 1991, p. 18.

14 Chr. Lilyquist, The hoard found at Dilbat in 1911, in: *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, forthcoming.

The surfaces of the cylinders are worn. Compared to the biconical granule beads described as no. 03 below, the granulation is not as fine: the balls here are larger, there is often flooding and melting, and the triangles and pattern are less precise. However, on the finest cylinder, six grains equal 0.4 cm.; this same ratio exists on the crescent pendant from the Dilbat hoard,¹⁴ although the granulation on the Mesopotamian crescent is finer and more precise.

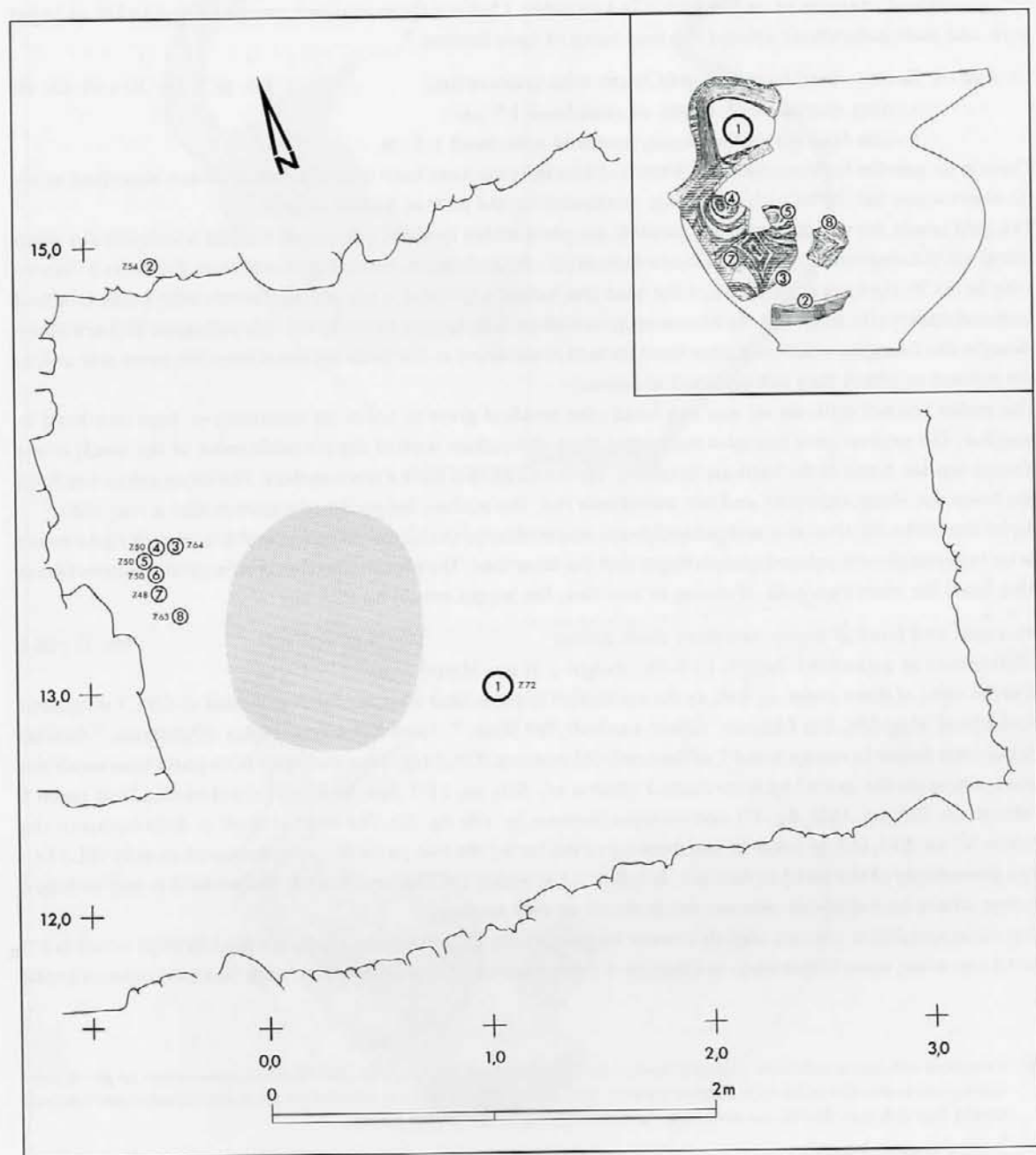


Fig. 33: Room S/P4d, showing the location of the sherds for Miron vessel no. 670 (Miron figs. 82-83). Most of the sherds were found together, around an area where the Expedition noted that the earth was especially free of finds (grey; cf. Pls. 29;48). This condition indicates that the vessel which later appeared on the international art market (no. 01; Fig. 34, p. 211; Pl. 16) probably came from this same area. In addition to the jar, other objects in the catalogue could have been found here; nos. 05 and 06 (ivory duck dishes), no. 018 (gold disks), and no. 021 (glass vessel) have parallels among the objects found by the Expedition on the west side of room S.

With at least nine cylinders in the tomb, one wonders about their original function. The excavators associated their five with the 69 granular ring beads (Miron nos. 7-11) and the inlaid pendant (Miron no. 1) in room T. It may be that the suspension ring of the pendant is meant to have opposing triangles, and that it should go with the cylinders, but the tiny granular rings are surely too small to be used with any of these. Slightly earlier tubes with filigree on the ends are known from Ebla,¹⁵ although there too there is no indication of original use. As for date, there are two roundels in Leiden, of unknown provenance, which have suspension tubes with opposing granulated triangles as on the Kāmid el-Lōz tubes. I believe these roundels can be related to Tell el-ʿAjjul gold, and date somewhere around the beginning of Late Bronze.¹⁶

03. and 04. *Twenty-three biconical gold beads* with granulation, Pls. 18,2; 19; 20 with no. 02
a collar on each end, length of each bead 1.3 cm.,
Twelve blue frit melon beads, length of each bead 1.3 cm.

There is no parallel for these beads at Kāmid el-Lōz but they have been with the four cylinders described as no. 02 above since the 1970s and adamantly connected to 'the find' at Kāmid el-Lōz.

The gold beads, for which I know no parallel, are presumably made of two cones; I could not detect any seam along the circumference (one bead had a hole at its circumference, cause unknown; note the holes in Miron tube no. 6). To the hole at each end of the bead was joined a cylinder made of rolled sheet, with a disk attached perpendicular to its outer end. As a last step, granulation was applied to the beads. My colleague Richard Stone thought the triangles would not have been formed in advance, as the balls are not always the same size and as the surface to which they are attached is curved.

The grains are not uniform on any one bead (the smallest grain is 1 mm. in diameter) or from one bead to another; the pattern (five triangles projecting from the collars toward the circumference of the bead) is not always regular. Some of the balls are flattened. The hemispheres have a worn surface. The tubes projecting from the holes are shiny, however, and are sometimes red; the surface below the granules is also a rosy color.

As for the frit beads, their size and general shape relate them to the biconical beads, and it is usual for gold beads to be intermixed with colored ones in Egypt and the Near East. The present number would yield a pattern of one blue bead for every two gold; if strung in one line, the length would be 45.5 cm.

05. *Head and bowl of one or two ivory duck dishes* Pls. 17; 18,1
Dimensions as assembled: length 13.8 cm., height c. 6 cm. Hippo ivory.

It is the style of these items, as well as the art market reports, that connect them to Kāmid el-Lōz,¹⁷ as against ducks from Megiddo, Ras Shamra, 'Sidon', Lachish, Tell Brak,¹⁸ and Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios.¹⁹ Similar ducks were found in rooms S and T of the tomb (Miron nos. 508-513); olive stains on both parts here recall the green stains on the game box from room T (Miron no. 520, pp. 187f. figs. 59;60;62) the duckling from room T (Miron no. 508, pp. 184f. fig. 57) and on bone buttons (p. 196 fig. 72). The bowl is close in dimensions to the Miron lid no. 511, but, to judge by the drawing of the latter, the two parts do not correspond exactly (Pl. 17,4). The dimensions of the bowl or dish are: length c. 13.6, width 4.8, height c. 2.3 cm. The surface is very polished except where incrustations obscure the surface; no real damage.

Top surface of dish is smooth, slightly convex longitudinally. Depression in center is edged by ridge which is 0.5 to 0.6 cm. wide; outer dimensions of ridge are 9.4 cm. 3.8 cm. Depression within ridge has oval curve at broad

15 Long tubes with wire around ends, some with beveled ends, from the Lord of Goats tomb: P.M. Matthiae, *Osservazioni sui gioielli delle tombe principesche di Mardikh III B*, in: *Studi Eblaïti* 4, 1981, fig. 55 p. 216, length 1.55, diameter 0.5 cm. Stubby cylinders with wire twist around each end, from the Princess tomb: *ibid.* fig. 61 p. 220, length 1.6, diameter 1.8 cm.

16 See Chr. Lilyquist, *loc. cit.*

17 If it is true that ducks at various sites have individual stylistic traits, then the duck at Alalakh AT/38/117 from level IV (Sir Leonard Woolley, *Alalakh. An account of the excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay 1937-1949* [Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 18], Oxford 1955, p. 289 and pl. 75c), and Deir ʿAlla (D. Homès-Fredericq, *Possible Phoenician influences in Jordan in the Iron Age*, in: *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 3, London 1987, p. 91) could have come from Kāmid el-Lōz.

18 D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak 1985-86*, in: *Iraq* 49, 1987, pp. 187f.

19 A. K. South, *Riches of Late Bronze Age Cyprus*, in: *Newsletter of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 36 no. 2 (Nov. 1984), pp. 3-5; V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kalavassos: B., Ayios Dhimitrios*, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities [of Cyprus] for the year 1984*, 33-35.

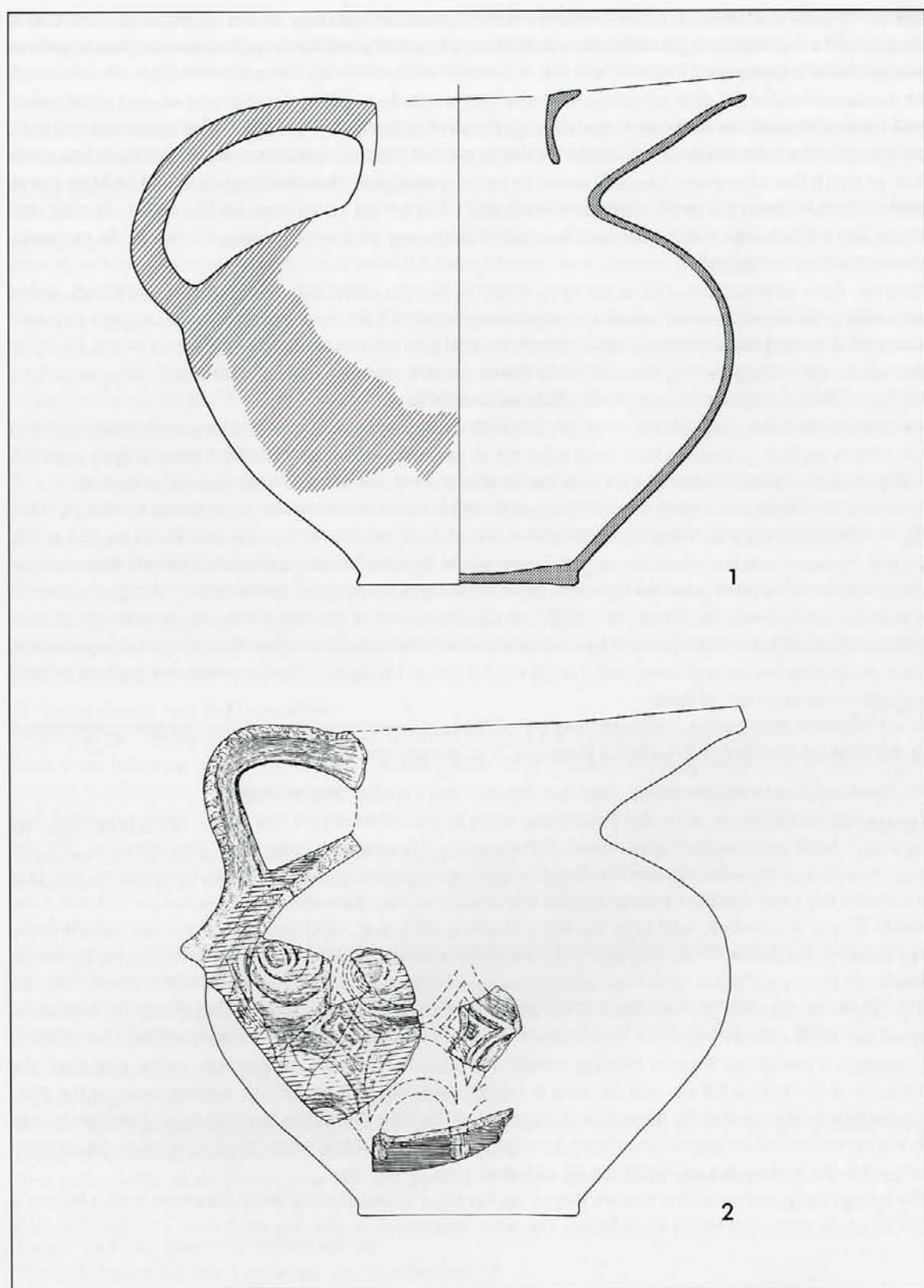


Fig. 34: The upper figure is a drawing of no. 01 with its handle and adjacent wall shaded. The exact outline of the restoration on the body is difficult to determine, due to overpainting. The lower figure shows no. 01 with drawings of the Expedition's handle and sherds (Miron no. 670) superimposed on it (cf. Fig. 33, p. 209; Pl. 16; Miron Figs. 82-83). Scale 1:3.

end but a more complicated shape at narrow end. Depression measures 7.4 cm. along center axis and is maximum 2.8 cm. wide; it is generally cut straight down along the curved surface at narrow end, but remainder of depression is undercut.

At the narrow end of the dish, where the neck of a duck would have joined the dish, and where a plastic piece now replaces the missing neckpiece, there is a slightly raised collar around the hole which would have received a peg to connect bowl and neck; this collar protrudes 0.2 to 0.3 cm. in front of the plastic part (as in Miron no. 509, pl. 41). If this ridge was originally covered by an ivory neckpiece, then the diameter of the neckpiece at its base would have been 1.4 to 0.5 cm. (side to side) and 1.8 to 0.9 cm. (front to back). The hole in the dish that would receive the tenon holding the neck was drilled all the way through the object; microscope examination shows this hole is original.

Only two holes exist to fasten a lid: at the narrow end the hole for swivel tenon has a diameter of 0.5 cm.; at the broad end, a hole (centered and outside the ridge) is very small (0.2 cm. diam; c. 0.5 cm. deep, angling downward and inward, toward bottom center of dish). See Pl. 17,4. On bottom surface of bowl, Pl. 17,2, the oval shape of the dish seems quite elongated (as it would be for Miron no. 510, pl. 42). Center of bottom has flat area roughly 4.5 cm. : 1.5 cm.; object sits quite plumb. Faint olive stain here.

As for the head, its length is 8.5 cm., its height 3.2 cm. It is complete, as revealed by microscopic examination of the bottom surface that would have been adjacent to an ivory neckpiece. The entire piece is quite polished, although underside of bill has gouges near the head and there is a crack in back of neck at bottom.

The top of the head has a flattened band 0.5 cm. wide which runs toward the bill (as on Miron no. 508, pp. 184f. fig. 57). The bill is very wide when seen from above; it is divided from the bill by an *m* (see Miron no. 510, p. 190 fig. 66), the upper points of which are opposite inner canthi. The line dividing upper and lower bill does not meet the *m* or the *v* which is carved at the tip of the upper bill (a *v* apparently on Miron no. 509, p. 190 fig. 65). There is one nostril on each side (as Miron no. 510, p. 190 fig. 66), carved as a crescent with its tips pointing upward. Discoloration makes the bill appear to have a line down the middle but it does not. The eye openings are incised, each one coming to a point at inner canthi (as Miron no. 510, p. 190 fig. 66). There is no trace of pigment on head but olive stain is on top of head.

In my judgment these parts are of hippo ivory and of Phoenician workmanship. A dish of the type is represented in the tomb of Amenhotep II's official Kenamun,²⁰ as already noted by R. Eght.

06. Head and bowl with partial lid, from two different duck vessels. Hippo ivory.

The reasons for linking no. 05 to the 'Schatzhaus' apply to this object as well. The head is better preserved than the dish,²¹ but it is also larger²² and of much higher quality.²³ It seems to be even larger than Miron no. 508. The bottom surface of the neck indicates that the bill would have pointed downwards, much like Miron no. 508. One wonders if this head could not belong with the Miron neck no. 512; dimensions and orientation of dowel holes would appear to correlate, judging by the Miron drawing (Miron pl. 43,2), and both pieces are stained green. The length of the dish is 15 cm., its height c. 2.7 cm. There is a chip and abrasion on the bottom surface near the small end. The top surface is carved so that there is a raised ridge, within which is a cavity which measures 4 cm. : 8 cm. Between ridge and circumference of the dish is a hole at either end, along the center axis. The hole at the broad end holds a button which is 0.9 cm. in diameter; the hole at the narrow end is empty but once held a tenon to connect a neckpiece. There is no ridge around the latter hole but the surface here is very scratched; the diameter of the hole is 0.6 cm. and the hole is 1.2 cm. deep, directed toward the bottom center of the dish. On the raised ridge itself at the broad end of the dish, just opposite the button, is a hole to hold another button. At the narrow end of the object, the hole on the ridge still has part of a peg inside; this hole is 0.6 cm. in diameter and holds the broken peg on which the lid swiveled.

The bottom surface of the dish is smooth like an egg but has a 'cartouche ring' protruding from it (this feature is not on shells recovered by the Expedition); the outer dimensions of this ring are 5.7 cm. : 2.7 cm., the space

20 N. de Garis Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, pl. 18, p. 30 no. 92.

21 The head is glossy and well-preserved where the bowl is pitted and scratched.

22 To a lesser degree present in Miron no. 509, where, however, the holes for a peg to join head to neck do not line up (Miron pl. 41, bottom). The tomb at Kalavassos apparently had two complete vessels, for which see the proportions of one in the publications of n. 19.

23 The bowl is not carved precisely, as in width of ridge around depression, and hollowing out of depression.

within the ring measures 3.9 cm. 1.3 cm. The ring is polished; the area within it is mat; the rest of the bottom surface is satiny. The dish does not sit flat; rather, when it is positioned so that the narrow end is at the left, the broad is at the right, the entire dish tips toward the viewer; the side that is tipped up is more polished than the lower part.

The lid is not complete but it probably did belong with this bowl. Its two ends are preserved; when placed over the raised ridge of the shell, an original length of 10.1 cm. is indicated for it. The thickness next to the hole drilled in the middle (no doubt for a duckling) is 0.5 cm.

The top of the lid was slightly convex, the bottom flat. The holes at the ends for dowels (to hold lid to shell) have diameters of 0.5 cm. (at wide end) and 0.5+ cm. (at narrow end). The portion at the wide end fits well; at the narrow end the part does not completely cover the ridge. Nevertheless, upon consideration of its thickness and shape, the lid could belong with the bowl.

The duck head is 11.7 cm. long, c. 3 cm. high; distance from inner point of *w* on beak, along top of beak to its end, is 5.6 cm. The back of the head is split and a sliver of ivory is missing. There is considerable green staining, more on the right side of head than the left; the entire object is quite polished. Head seems to be complete, i.e., bottom of neck surface is flat and has hole in it for dowel. This hole is slightly off center: 1.5 cm. side to side, 1.8 cm. front to back. The hole runs perpendicular to the bottom surface of the neck; its diameter is 0.7 cm., its depth c. 1.8 cm.; there are fine horizontal drill lines inside.

The top of the head is again flattened; here the band is 1 cm. wide. The bill is separated from the head by an *m*, the outer points of which continue down to a seam which runs between upper and lower parts of bill (as in Miron no. 510, p. 190 fig. 66). This *m*, the nostrils, and line dividing upper and lower bill all have Egyptian Blue in them. The upper part of the bill curves down over the lower at the tip.

The outline of each eye is incised; it comes to a point at the inner canthus; a hole is drilled in the center. The eye thus has the appearance of a raised ring bead (as in Miron no. 509, p. 190 fig. 65) sitting within a drop-shaped depression which points towards the bill; the outline of the depression is incised. Incisions and depressions are filled with Egyptian Blue.

07. Lid of double reed *kohl* container

Pl. 22,2

Width 3.8 cm., thickness 0.6 cm., diameter of swivel hole 0.4 cm. Probably hippo ivory.

Such ivory lids were commonly used with wooden *kohl* tubes in Egypt, as the example found with a scarab naming Hatshepsut's daughter Neferu-re.²⁴

08. Bone button

Pl. 21,1

Diameter 2.1 cm. Plano-convex; polished on lower surface.

Apparently similar to Miron no. 571 from room T; see her pl. 52,8.

09. Bone button

Pl. 21,2-3

Diameter 4.1 cm. More conical than the above, with a chip around hole at top; bottom surface flat but revealing the cellular structure of bone.

One button from the excavations (Miron no. 575) is 3 cm. in diameter but most are half the size of this one. However, a slightly concave pierced disk of 3.9 cm. diameter was found in room R/U (no. 563).

010. Two decorated bone strips

Pl. 21,2-3

5.7 cm. long, 1.1 cm. wide; and 7.0 cm. long, 1.8 cm. wide.

Parallel lines and nucleated circles incised on each. Corner missing from one; sliver missing from long side of the other, otherwise complete.

Five quite similar strips (Miron nos. 558-560, pl. 51,1-5) were found west of room R/U.

011. Ivory pin

Pl. 21,1

Length 16.2 cm., greatest diameter 0.8 cm.

The wide end of the pin is polished; the tip is broken off.

Three pins with recurved duck heads (Miron nos. 515-517) were found in room S.

24 H.E. Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes*, in: *The Egyptian Expedition, 1930-1931* (Section II of the *March Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 27), New York 1932, p. 22 and fig. 14. See also E. Brovarski, in: *Egypt's Golden Age*, Boston 1982, p. 217 n. 38.

012. Ivory plaque

Pl. 21,1

Dimensions 3.8 cm. x 3.2 cm. x 1.0 cm.

This rather thick piece with beveled corners does not have a parallel among the many pieces of ivory retrieved by the Expedition (Miron pls. 47-52). It does not seem out of place among them however.

013. Bone tube

Pl. 21,2-3

Length 9.8 cm., diameter 1.9 cm.

The tube is round in cross section, with the wide end closed. One hole pierces the wall. The decoration consists of two bands of incised crosshatching and parallel lines. Nothing similar from excavations.

014. Two sheet metal goddesses („woman figurine pendants“ of O. Negbi)

Pl. 22,3

Largest of bronze or copper, heavily corroded; 9.2 cm. x 1.6 cm., smallest of silver, 6.7 cm. x 1.3 cm.

While the larger example is too corroded to see any details in the photo, the smaller has eyes, nose or mouth, breasts, and pubic area indicated by punch marks from the back. The left side of the headress worn by the silver goddess appears striated, as in examples from 'Ajjul and Hazor.²⁵

J.D. Seger has pointed out that this type of object is usually of bronze or silver and has been found mainly in Palestine; exceptions are three bronze examples from Byblos, Tel Nebi Mend, and now Kāmid el-Lōz. He would date the series like the three examples from Gezer, MB II to LB I, clustering in the 16th century.²⁶

015. 'Axe' with face

Pl. 22,4-5

Thick gold foil over a silver core. Height 3.8 cm., width 4.3 cm.

This sickle-shaped object is complete, and, judging by a similar object,²⁷ the vertical groove on its surface is original. The back is smooth, but on the front, three knobs protrude at the top and an animal head emerges below them. No perforation is noted but similar examples have a lateral hole through the top.

I have found no parallel for this object in excavation reports. It came to light with the other objects, and similar objects on the market have come from the Levant.

016. Three 'axe' pendants

one is Pl. 22,1

Bronze or copper.

Similar in shape to no. 014, but lacking any decoration. The one photographed is 2.6 cm. x 2.1 cm. and has a loop at the top for suspension (rounded above, pointed below).

017. Lozenge-shaped ornament²⁸

Pls. 23-26; Fig. 35, p. 222

Silver and silver-rich gold (electrum?);²⁹ height 9.8 cm., width 7 cm.

There is no parallel for this object from the excavations and it is a highly unusual object in any event. However, the object has been adamantly and consistently connected to the find since the 1970s. Furthermore, several gilded silver fragments were found in room T (Miron nos. 63-79): three edge pieces (nos. 65-67, decorated with guilloché rather than running spiral) and three inner fragments with suppliant goddesses, also unusual items (nos. 63-64). One also must note that a good deal of precious metal was found in this chamber: gilded bronze

25 O. Negbi, The hoards of goldwork from Tell el-'Ajjul (SIMA 25), Göteborg 1970, cat. 134 and pl. 5,29.

26 J.D. Seger, Reflections on the Gold Hoard from Gezer, in: BASOR 221, 1976, pp. 133-140. For the Kāmid el-Lōz example: Frühe Phöniker, p. 164 no. 109.

27 Sotheby Parke Bernet, Important Antiquities (New York, December 9 1981), lot 66: silver with gold foil overlay, 6.4 cm. wide.

28 See D.P. Hansen in chapter 8.

29 Conventionally, electrum is considered a natural alloy of gold with at least 20% silver. My colleague M. Wypyski did three surface analysis on the front and averaged them, and one surface analysis on the back of the object. He used energy dispersive x-ray spectrometry (EDS) throughout; his analyses are approximate.

Smooth front surface:	Iron	Copper	Silver	Gold
Relative weight %	0.3	1.1	18.3	80.3
Corroded back surface:	Silicon	Chlorine	Bromine	Silver
Relative weight %	0.4	18.2	20.6	60.7

Inasmuch as the percentage of silver in the front surface is rather high, and the analyses are approximate, it is possible that an actual sampling of the front surface would yield 'electrum'. The metal is a pale yellow color.

brads (nos. 80-87); and a silver lid (no. 88), vessel (no. 91), and wire (nos. 92-93), as well as various fragments (nos. 94, no. 97 [mouth guard?], nos. 99-100, 102-103, 105-106).

D.P. Hansen has independently studied the iconography, date, and function of the piece (chapter 8); his suggestion that the object was a horse blinker would be sympathetic with the armor (Miron nos. 144-320), weapons (nos. 112-113, 115-129, 132-133, 135-142), and equestrian group (no. 657) of room T, although it would have to be considered a stray item, as no other horse trappings were found. On the other hand, the scale armor is not thought to be complete nor are the gilt fragments with goddesses. A number of bronze items (Miron nos. 346-352, 356-359, 362, 364-371, 379, 381, 384-385, 390-392, 395) have no assignable function.

018. *„Three gold disks“* as Miron nos. 21-24 from room S.

These are said to be exactly like those found by the Expedition.

All four of the Expedition's disks are pierced as if to be sewn, the three largest punched in a similar pattern. Miron nos. 21 and 22 (and probably no. 23, which however lacks a suspension loop) probably originated as pendants. No indication whether these three had loops or not.

019. *„Two heavy solid gold bracelets, with grooves at each end“*

Diameter c. 10 cm.

These would be Negbi type 21.³⁰

020. *„A little hoard of sheet gold flowers, simple cut-outs, with perhaps five petals“*

Apparently like Negbi cats. 239-241; no parallels were found by the Expedition.

021. *„Glass vessel, too fragmentary to be saved“.*

See Miron nos. 459-467 (most fragments from the western part of room S).

022. *„Ivory inlay of a man's face, in profile“*, described as very simple.

The description calls to mind Miron nos. 502-504.

7.3 PARALLELS IN EGYPT FOR OBJECTS FOUND BY THE EXPEDITION IN THE 'SCHATZHAUS'

While studying the art market objects in relation to the Expedition's, I noted a number of parallels in Egypt for items found by the Expedition in the 'Schatzhaus':

Miron no. 11, Gold granule beads from room T (Miron pl. 4,4-6): The earliest examples in Egypt are from the tomb of the Asiatic wives of Tuthmosis III; they continue into Ramesside times but are always rare.

Miron no. 88, Silver box lid from room T (Miron pl. 10): A wooden box with similar interlocking circles on its lid was found in the burial of Hatnufer, mother of Senenmut, architect of Hatshepsut (1479-1457 B.C.).³¹

³⁰ O. Negbi, *The hoards of gold-work from Tell el-'Ajjul* (SIMA 25), Göteborg 1970, p. 33c and cats. 266-280.

³¹ A. Lansing and W.C. Hayes, *The Egyptian Expedition 1935-1936. The Museum's Excavations at Thebes* (Section II of the January Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 32), New York 1937, fig. 46.

Miron no. 112, Sick sword from room T (Miron pl. 12,4): The weapon is not common in Egypt; the earliest representation I know of is in the funerary temple of Hatshepsut.³² Amenhotep II is shown brandishing one, and bronze examples are depicted in the tomb of Kenamun.³³

Miron no. 144-320, Scales of armor from room T (Miron pls. 15-16): P. Moorey states that, except for an isolated find at Boğazköy, these are not known before the Late Bronze Age.³⁴ In Egypt, an inlaid corselet may be listed amongst the Retenu booty, where the daughter of a Great One is mentioned. Certainly two mail shirts are represented in the tomb of Kenamun.³⁵

Miron nos. 398,402-407,409-415,417-419, see below.

Miron no. 428, Lapis lazuli spacer from room T (Miron pl. 31,3): In Egypt such lapis lazuli spacers belonged to Meryet-amun, a wife of Amenhotep I (1525-1504 B.C.)³⁶ and to the Asiatic wives of Tuthmosis III. Gold examples are known from a Dynasty 17 burial at Qurnah and from Ahhotep's treasure. Typically used for separating the strands of girdles belonging to girls and women, they are still depicted on a mirror handle attributable to the reign of Tuthmosis IV.

Miron no. 421, Silver finger ring with 'limestone' scarab inscribed Mn-hpr-r', from room T (Miron pl. 30): James Weinstein has kindly examined drawings and impression of the scarab. He gives references to two tomb groups with similar scarabs at Abydos³⁷ and states, „I see nothing in the design, cutting of the signs, back, or side that would prevent this object from being contemporary with Tuthmosis III's reign“³⁸

Miron no. 520, Game board from room T (Miron pl. 46): The closest parallel for this object is an example from a Deir el-Bahari burial that, at this stage of my researches, I would date c. 1550.³⁹ The Deir el-Bahari board is clearly of Palestinian workmanship (although it could have been made in Egypt) and was found with a lyre of the type held by the Kāmid el-Lōz musician (Miron no. 501) and a short sword like that of Kamosa (c. 1550 B.C.).

Miron no. 658 from rooms S and T, a quarter missing; Miron nos. 659-663 and 666 from T; Miron nos. 664-665, two sherds from room S (Miron pls. 56-57·60,3), Base Ring jugs: Egypt's use of Base Ring ware was quite specific.⁴⁰ The BR I jug with relief decoration (Äström type VIδ')⁴¹ occurs in Egypt down through the reign of Tuthmosis III according to Merrillees,⁴² although there are no exact parallels here. Of the BR II white striped jug (Äström IXB1d)⁴³ Merrillees noted only one „late“ neck fragment at Amarna.⁴⁴ Gittlen states that BR II appeared in Palestine during LB I, and reached its peak as well as came to an end in LB IIa.⁴⁵

32 H.W. Müller, *Der Waffenfund von Balāṭa-Sichem und Die Sichelschwerter* (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, N.F. 97), München 1987, pp. 107ff.

33 N. de Garis Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, pl. 20, p. 29 no. 81; p. 31 no. 126, pl. 22.

34 P. Moorey, *The Hurrians, the Mittani, and Technological Innovation*, in: *Archeologia Iranica et Orientalis, miscellanea in honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*, Ghent 1989, p. 276.

35 N. de Garis Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, nos. 43-44. See also J.R. Stewart, *Tell el 'Ajjul. The Middle Bronze Age remains* (SIMA 38), Göteborg 1974, p. 57.

36 H.E. Winlock, *The tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun at Thebes*, New York 1932, p. 15.

37 D 102 and 116: D. Randall-MacIver and A.C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos, 1899-1901* (Special Extra Publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund), London 1902, pp. 89,91.

38 Letter of 8/4/91.

39 Pit 3 chamber E3: A. Lansing, *Excavations in the Assasif at Thebes*, in: *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (Supplement to the May Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 12), New York 1917, pp. 20-26. See J.-W. Meyer, in: *Kāmid el-Lōz 1977-81*, pp. 123-143.

40 R.S. Merrillees, *The Cypriote Bronze Age pottery found in Egypt: a reply*, in: *Rep. Cyprus 1975*, pp. 81-90.

41 P. Äström, *The Late Cypriote Bronze Age, architecture and pottery* (The Swedish Cyprus Expedition 4, part 1c), Lund 1972, p. 157.

42 R.S. Merrillees, *The Cypriote Bronze Age pottery found in Egypt* (SIMA 18), Lund 1968, p. 161 type 2.

43 P. Äström, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 184f.

44 R.S. Merrillees, *Op. Cit.*, p. 181 type 2.

45 *Studies in the Late Cypriote Pottery found in Palestine*, Ann Arbor 1981, pp. 144,517.

Miron nos. 678-679, Pilgrim flasks from room T (Miron pl. 60,1 and, 4): Although the vessel type is of foreign origin, examples were being made in Egypt from the reign of Tuthmosis III, with and without concentric circles.⁴⁶

Miron no. 398, Hard stone jar inscribed *ḥ3ty-ʿRʿ-wsʿr* from room S, west side (Miron pl. 24,3): I differ from E. Edel in the assessment of this jar and am not as adventurous in its interpretation.⁴⁷ I do not consider the bowl of first-rate workmanship and am not sure when, or where, the vessel was made.⁴⁸ Of more importance however is the inscription, which I do not find that sure, as studied in the original, particularly the lion-forepart sign. Considering the fact that the Byblos scimitar and scarabs naming *ḥ3ty-ʿ* were inscribed locally, as the mace at Ebla in my opinion, I suggest that the Kāmid el-Lōz inscription was inscribed in the Levant. As to when this might have been, the epigraphic possibilities are very broad: H.G. Fischer informs me that the *Rʿ* sign in a private name occurs already in the Archaic Period,⁴⁹ and that the jackal-headed staff with wig is known since the Heracleopolitan Period. While he has not noticed evidence of the latter sign after the reign of Senwosret II, he informs me that the variation with wig and foreleg occurs several times in Dynasty 12, while the variation with wig and pair of legs occurs in hieroglyphic renderings of names in the Hyksos and Ramesside periods.⁵⁰ The name, according to Edel, is attested only once in Egypt, for the husband of the woman who gave birth to the kings of Dynasty 5, as written in a story of the Westcar Papyrus of Hyksos date. That Ra had some importance then is also indicated by a vase fragment with Khyan's name, wherein the king is „beloved of Ra Horakhty“⁵¹ It is curious that this unique occurrence of the name *Rʿ-wsʿr* for an historical personage comes from the Levant, where other *ḥ3ty-ʿ*s used their local names.

Could the bowl have been inscribed and used during the period in question (very late Middle Bronze-early Late Bronze)? The title *ḥ3ty-ʿ* is inscribed and used at Byblos into the Hyksos Period,⁵² and it occurs on a very interesting early Dynasty 18 parallel from tomb SA 17 at Aniba. This tomb was apparently for a Nubian and contained the locally made LM alabastron referred to in no. 01 above. Kemp states that in the Nubian temple towns of the New Kingdom, the title mayor „possessed little by way of its own officialdom [but] was the basic local government office in Egypt, and one of its responsibilities was the delivery of local taxes, paid in kind as well as in gold, to the vizier, presumably those levied on private land“⁵³

What meaning did this title have in Western Asia, an area quite different from Nubia in terms of Egyptian relations during the early Late Bronze Age?⁵⁴ Assuming Kāmid el-Lōz to be the Kumidi of Amarna and later times, one might imagine a local representative of Egypt or local dynast resident there offering loyalty and 'tribute' to Pharaoh: this is as much as we can suggest at the moment.

Miron nos. 402-407 and, 409-415 and, 417-419, Uninscribed stone vessels:

I would call the following uninscribed stone vessels 'Tuthmoside', meaning that they could date from the long reign of Tuthmosis III or somewhat before:⁵⁵ Miron no. 409, Large travertine krateriskos (Miron pl. 26,7), the

46 J. Bourriau, *Umm el-Gaʿab, pottery from the Nile valley before the Arab Conquest*, Cambridge 1981, no. 143.

47 E. Edel, in: *Kāmid el-Lōz 1977-81*, pp. 149-152.

48 See Chr. Lilyquist, *Egyptian or Egyptianizing stone vessels? The problem at Kāmid el-Lōz and other sites from the Aegean to the Sudan*, forthcoming.

49 On a niche stela from Saqqara 3038, rendered generally in P. Kapolony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, Wiesbaden 1963, pl. 139.

50 Letter 2/25/92; H.G. Fischer, *The evolution of composite hieroglyphs in Ancient Egypt*, in: *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 12, 1977, pp. 17f.

51 Chr. Lilyquist, *Stone ointment jars and cosmetic vessels with royal provenance or name, Auserra Apopy through Tutmosis IV*, forthcoming.

52 For Levantine scarabs and a Mirgissa sealing where the title has been read by G. Martin, see Teissier's references to his publication in her: *The seal impression Alalakh 194: a new aspect of Egypto-Levantine relations in the Middle Kingdom*, in: *Levant* 22, 1990, nn. 7-8. The reading of the inscription on the Alalakh cylinder published by Teissier and Smith is not altogether convincing in my view. See further the discussion in: *Granulation and glass: chronological and stylistic investigations at selected sites, ca. 2500-1400 B.C. E.*, in: *BASOR* 290-291, 1993, 42-44.

53 B.J. Kemp, *Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt (c. 1575-1087 B.C.)*, in: P.D.A. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker, *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1978, pp. 30,290.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 43-56.

55 Chr. Lilyquist, *The gold bowl naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology*, in: *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23, 1988, pp. 10-13 and forthcoming: *Stone ointment jars and cosmetic vessels with royal provenance or name, Auserra Apopy through Tutmosis IV*.

lid from room T and the pieces of the jar in the western part of S; Miron nos. 413 (pl. 28,4), and 414 (pl. 28,5), Two travertine piriform jars from room S, the former from its western part, the latter incomplete; Miron no. 415, Travertine cup (Miron pl. 28,2), from the western part of room S; Miron no. 410, Tall white stone jug (Miron pl. 23,2), from the western part of room S;⁵⁶ Miron nos. 404, Small travertine jug (Miron pl. 24,1), and 411, Larger travertine jug (pl. 24,2), both from room S, the latter from its western part.

I would assign the amphoriskos, and perhaps the jug as well, to Amenophis II: Miron no. 403, Serpentine jug with button base, and stand (Miron pl. 26,4), a dark handle piece from room T, the rest from the western part of room S; Miron no. 405, Small serpentine amphoriskos with button base (Miron pl. 25,1) from room T, a quarter estimated missing.

No exact parallels exist in Egypt for the following: Miron no. 402, Serpentine jug with lid (Miron pl. 23,1), and no. 406, Serpentine amphoriskos with self-stand (Miron pl. 25,2), both from room T; they are estimated to be missing one-third and one-half parts respectively. The mannered quality of the handles on the amphoriskos might take them into the reign of Tuthmosis IV (1401-1391 B.C.).

Other comments on the uninscribed stone vessels: The serpentine lid Miron no. 407 would typologically suit no. 403. In Egypt, plugs like nos. 417 and 419 would be used for piriform jars such as nos. 413 and 414 or even 412, but the flat lid Miron no. 418 could also be found with a piriform jar. Plugs are sometimes smaller than mouths and sometimes rise above rims. Lids are sometimes made of different stones than vases. As for the condition of the vessels when found, the two large serpentine jars from room T (these must have been made together, nos. 402 and 406), and possibly the small serpentine amphoriskos from that room (no. 405), lacked a noticeable part of their mass.

7.4 PARALLELS OUTSIDE EGYPT FOR OBJECTS FOUND BY THE EXPEDITION IN THE 'SCHATZHAUS'

The following are parallels outside Egypt for 'Schatzhaus' objects I have come across in comparative work for Tuthmosis III's Asiatic queens.

Miron nos. 26-30, Gold bands from rooms S and T (Miron pls. 5,2 and 6,1-3): One wonders whether these aren't related to the simple bands found from Kültepe (level Ib or earlier) to Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios (LC IIa),⁵⁷ and whether any of them could have been finger or toe stalls. The earliest gold stalls from royal burials in Egypt are from the tomb of Tuthmosis III's Asiatic wives.

Miron no. 408, Travertine ewer from room S, western side (Miron pl. 27): The Expedition archives note a fragmentary parallel from Hazor,⁵⁸ but this vessel is also surely related to Athens NM 3225 from Mycenae. The context of the latter is unknown but P. Warren believes it is from the chamber tombs and dates it LM I-II.⁵⁹

56 See Heraklion 600 from the Isopata Royal Tomb: P. Warren, *Minoan Stone Vases*, Cambridge 1969, p. 113 no. P618, dated LM II-IIIa1 by him, but the tomb has earlier vases.

57 T. Özgüç, *Kültepe-Kaniş 2. New researches at the trading center of the ancient Near East*, Ankara 1986, p. 25, pls. H and 63. The Cypriote tomb (no. 11) had LH IIIa Mycenaean vessels: E. Goring, *Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age*, in: E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, Edinburgh 1989, p. 103; A.K. South, *Riches of Late Bronze Age Cyprus*, in: *Newsletter of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 36 no. 2 (Nov. 1984), pp. 3-5.

58 Y. Yadin, *Hazor II. An account of the second season of Excavations 1956*, Jerusalem 1960, pp. 158, 160, pl. 196,3: „surface, LB II“.

59 P. Warren, *Minoan stone vases*, Cambridge 1969, p. 104; he considers the vase Egyptian alabaster but a Minoan product (rhyton neck, ribbed handle, pedestal foot, „material and probable context“).

Miron nos. 480-481, Multicolored game pieces from room T (Miron pl. 36,11-12): In my judgment these items are glass. So also may be nos. 474-478 (Miron pl. 35,7-11),⁶⁰ which are like those called glass at Tell Brak.⁶¹ The dome-shaped items are decorated with eyes and represent a further development from the polychrome glass inlays of ^cAjjul (between lower and middle City, according to Negbi), Megiddo (end of level IX, according to A. Kempinski), and Ahhotep's treasure.⁶² No. 481 (Miron pl. 36,12) is not the eye-type but had threads wound around its circumference.

Miron nos. c. 492-497, Beads (Miron pl. 36,1-2 and, 13-16): Several of the beads also appear to be glass, for which there are parallels in the late Middle Bronze-early Late Bronze.⁶³

7.5 CONCLUSIONS

It is difficult to derive an inner chronology from the 'Egyptian' objects of the 'Schatzhaus' but comparative material does give a certain range for many objects.

In Egypt two groups are able to bracket most, if not all, of the comparisons above: the Asasif tomb cited for Miron no. 520⁶⁴ and the tomb of Kenamun, where the sickle sword, scale armor, duck dish, and even blinkers⁶⁵ are shown to be highly valued. The first group displays clear evidence of the increased international contact introduced by the Hyksos; the second shows us that contact in a more developed form.

Kenamun was a childhood companion of Amenhotep II (1427-1401). He went to Retenu with him (the king would have been near Kumidi in his year 7 campaign)⁶⁶ and had an important post in the Delta⁶⁷ where, in year 9, the king inspected booty received from Retenu.⁶⁸ The objects on Kenamun's walls commonly referred to as New Year's gifts are labeled „yield of the various crafts“ but the inscription noting their place of origin is fragmentary: Davies restored „of the Residence-towns of the ?Delta“. Assuming in any event that these objects were made in Egypt, it is clear that at least the chariots⁶⁹ and several vessels⁷⁰ are foreign types. C. Aldred convincingly argued that such rich displays were more than accounts of annual production, rather they represented

60 The fabric is clearly melted through; the breaks are concoidal.

61 D. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak 1985-86, in: Iraq 49, 1987, pp. 187ff.

62 Chr. Lilyquist, Granulation and glass as evidence of cultural contact, c. 2000-1400 B.C., forthcoming.

63 Loc. cit.

64 Burial D1 in Pit 3 was contemporary with E3, in my preliminary studies, contra Merrillees, who has discussed the wishbone-handled metal bowl from it in: Metal vases of Cypriot type from the 16th to 13th centuries B.C., in: Early metallurgy in Cyprus, 4000-500 B.C. (ACTA of the International Archaeological Symposium, 1-6 June 1981), Larnaca, pp. 233-249.

65 N. de Garis Davies, Tomb of Ken-Amūn, pl. 22, p. 31 nos. 113-114.

66 P. der Manuelian, Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II (Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 26), Hildesheim 1987, fig. 19.

67 C. Roehrig, The eighteenth-dynasty titles royal nurse (*mn't nswt*), royal tutor (*mn' nswt*), and foster brother/sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (*sn/snt mn'n nb t3wy*) (Berkeley, University of California dissertation, 1990), pp. 124-127. Ships had been built at Peru-nefer during the previous reign.

68 P. der Manuelian, op. cit. p. 229.

69 N. de Garis Davies, Tomb of Ken-Amūn, pl. 22, pp. 30f. nos. 112, 124.

70 N. de Garis Davies, op. cit. pl. 14, pp. 23f.; pl. 18, p. 30 no. 85.

the outfitting of the king at his coronation or *ḥb-sd*⁷¹: i.e., they were highly important objects, whether local products or local knockoffs of imports, such as the leather blinker in the king's own tomb.⁷²

I believe the Egyptian parallels for 'Schatzhaus' objects I have commented on can be assigned to the Eighteenth Dynasty before the reign of Amenhotep III, i.e. to 1550-1390, the 'pre-Amarna' period. The 'Schatzhaus' objects show us clearly that Kāmid el-Lōz at that time was a part of trade that included Egypt, Cyprus and the Aegean. Could the bowl of *R'-wsir* belong to the male burial? It is possible and I believe likely.

The date of the LM Ib jar fits with the earlier end of Egyptian data, and the other comparisons outside Egypt fit within the long range. Hansen's date for the applique belongs to the end of that period.

71 C. Aldred, The 'New Year' gifts to the Pharaoh, in: JEA 55, 1969, p. 79; and, The foreign gifts offered to Pharaoh, in: JEA 56, 1970, pp. 105-116.

72 G. Daressy, Vallée des rois, p. 76 no. 24144, pl. 22.

8 COMMENTS ON AN ELECTRUM AND SILVER HORSE APPLIQUÉ ATTRIBUTED TO THE 'SCHATZHAUS' OF KĀMID EL-LŌZ¹

by Donald P. Hansen

Long associated with the group of objects described above by Christine Lilyquist (chapter 7) and demonstrated by her to have originally come from the 'Schatzhaus' of Kāmid el-Lōz is an electrum² and silver appliqué of ancient Levantine origin (Lilyquist no. 017; Fig. 35; Pls. 23-26). The object has a rounded top and a triangular bottom that was pierced originally with eighteen tiny perforations for attachment of the piece to another object. The appliqué is composed of a silver background joined to a slightly larger electrum sheet with cutout figures and a chased design. In its present state, the corroded silver has pushed through the cutout areas from the back, obliterating some of the incised figural details. The height or vertical axis of the piece is 9.8 centimeters, the greatest width is 7.2 centimeters, and the thickness of the electrum sheet is one half millimeter. The thickness of both the electrum and the corroded silver background is two and three quarter millimeters.

The scene depicted shows a demonic horned figure attacked by two heroes or warriors. These figures stand on the heads and wings of two seated, facing sphinxes. The demon is posed in a frontal position with bowed legs and feet that point inward, outstretched hands and crossed arms that are apparently bound with ropes or straps.³ He appears to be dressed in a tunic decorated with a rounded collar and a long hanging front fold. Anklets and bracelets adorn his arms and legs. His waist is cinched by a wide belt probably of metal or leather that has a simple banded border and rounded ends meeting at the middle of his waist. The striations on the neck may represent a beard or mane, and his chin is adorned with two tufts of hair. His hair, which flows outward from behind the head, is of an amorphous shape suggestive more of a mane than of a properly tended coiffure. The face of the demon is extremely broad with a markedly pointed chin. The eyes are slanted and the flattened brows are indicated by lines that also form the wide bridge of a very large nose. The mouth is suggested by a crescent shape without any differentiation of the lips. With the large ears set extremely high up on the head, the total impression of the demon's visage seems to be more animal than human. From the brow grow two curved horns which extend outward to the left and right. The large ears are abstracted shapes and help to support a tall pointed crown distinguished by an irregular pattern of slanting incised lines and by another pair of outstretched curved horns.

1 I have had the good fortune of being able to discuss the object with several of my colleagues including Chr. Lilyquist, O. Negbi, E. Porada, H. Pittman, and I. Winter. They are in no way responsible for any of the comments offered here.

2 An analysis of the electrum is given above by Chr. Lilyquist, chapter 7, n. 29.

3 The double incised diagonal lines on the left upper and middle forearm as well as the lines between the crossed arms and the top of the belt are best interpreted as ropes or straps that bind the figure. This is the suggestion of Elizabeth Simpson, the artist who executed the drawing of the appliqué, and I agree with this interpretation.

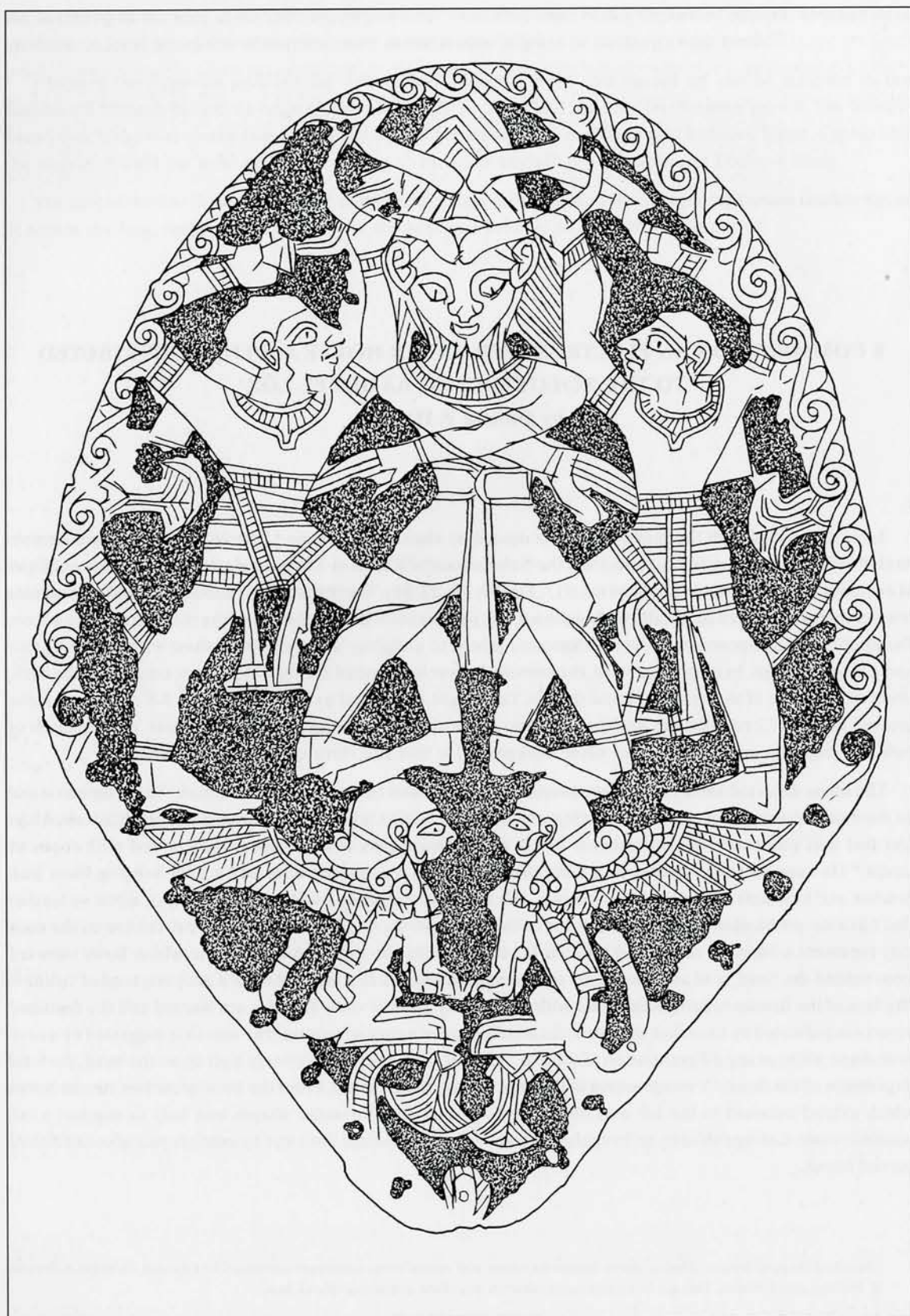


Fig. 35. Electrum and silver appliqué 017 of a blinker from the art market, attributed to Kāmid el-Lōz (Pls. 23-26). Scale 2.1.

The two heroic figures shown in profile are dressed perhaps in tunics or shirts with broad collars. They seem to wear patterned wrap-around skirts with large dangling tassels. Their hair, worn very long, falls down their backs to almost waist level and is controlled by means of a fillet encircling the hair at the nape of the neck. Their heads are distinguished by straight brows, extremely large noses and thick lips. They both wear bracelets and anklets that are more elaborate than the single band bracelets and anklets of the demon.⁴ Each hero raises one leg and interlocks it with a leg of the demon. Both warriors are threatening or are preparing to dispatch this bound demon by grasping with their hands the lower pair of extended horns and by brandishing sickle swords with their other upraised hands.

The feet of the heroes as well as the feet of the demon rest on the heads and outstretched curved wings of two seated sphinxes with erect backs and upturned tails. They hold their forepaws in front of their bodies. They wear two side curls with inward curving locks, an additional small lock on the side of the face beneath the ear, and a large tress of hair at the back of the head which is bound by a fillet. The individual feathers of the curved wings are indicated and differentiated by single and double lines. The upper part of the wing (the wrist), rendered with a scale pattern, is separated from the lower primary and secondary feathers by a curved double line. A band of scale pattern carried down the back of each sphinx ends in three lappets which are suggestive of bird tail feathers. Originally both sphinxes may have worn bibs or aprons. Such an apron seems to adorn the chest of the sphinx on the left side of the appliqué, but the silver incrustation is so thick in the area between the sphinxes that it is difficult to determine the original design. While the sphinxes visually support the interlocked figures above them, their huge feet are supported, in turn, by two drooping papyrus flowers which emerge from the border of the appliqué. Other papyrus stems and blossoms are also seen behind each of the heroes. The outer band or border where it is not perforated has an incised running spiral pattern with leaf motif interspersed between the spirals. The border of the lower part of the appliqué is unadorned save for a hatched band around the perforation at the apex of the inverted triangle.

The series of small perforations on the lower part of the appliqué indicate that it must have been fastened to another object. The fact that it is made of two pieces of metal, that is, a combination of both electrum and silver and hence somewhat weighty, coupled with the fact that the perforations occur only at the end, indicating that the piece projected beyond the surface of the object to which it was affixed, suggest that it was attached to a material more durable and less pliable than fabric, such as leather. The appliqué's shape with rounded top and triangular perforated bottom immediately suggests that it decorated the outer surface of a horse blinker. In the late second millennium in Egypt, horse blinkers of similar dimensions and configuration are well known, while the spade-shaped and shield-shaped blinkers in the Near East of the early first millennium are of a different configuration.⁵ New Kingdom examples of the earlier type include the famous gold and gesso covered wooden blinkers from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Fig. 36),⁶ wood and leather blinkers from the tomb of Amenhotep II (Fig. 37),⁷ a fragmentary inscribed ivory blinker of the Amarna period,⁸ and the representation of a blinker on a wall painting in the tomb of Kenamun of the time of Amenhotep II.⁹ There are representations of harnessed horses in the New Kingdom which clearly demonstrate how the blinker was attached horizontally to the headstall (Fig. 38),¹⁰ yet the design elements of the decoration that include the lotus blossoms (Tutankhamun),

4 I take the decorated bands on the upper arms to be the edge of the short sleeved tunics. If the heroic figures are meant to be have a bare chest, then they are also wearing arm bands.

5 M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East*, in: B. Spuler, et al. (eds.), *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 7. Abteilung, Band 1, 2. Abschnitt, B., Leiden and Köln 1979, pp. 90 and 125. One set of blinkers from the tomb of Tutankhamun are of the later spade type. See M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwel, *Chariots of Tutankhamun*, pl. 46, CCC and DDD, p. 85.

6 M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwel, *op. cit.* pls. 39 and 41.

7 G. Daressy, *Vallée des rois*, pl. 20, 24124-24128, pl. 22, 24144. The leather blinker is perforated around the entire border of the blinker. Similarly, most of the border of the two spade-shaped blinkers from the tomb of Tutankhamun are perforated. M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwel, *op. cit.*

8 R. Krauß, *Der Bildhauer Thutmose in Amarna*, in: *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 20, 1983, pp. 119ff., figs. 44-45. The preserved length of the fragment is 11.0 cm.

9 The painting is conveniently reproduced in M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwel, *Chariots of Tutankhamun*, pl. 75.

10 See the references cited in M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwel, *op. cit.* p. 85 and n. 6.

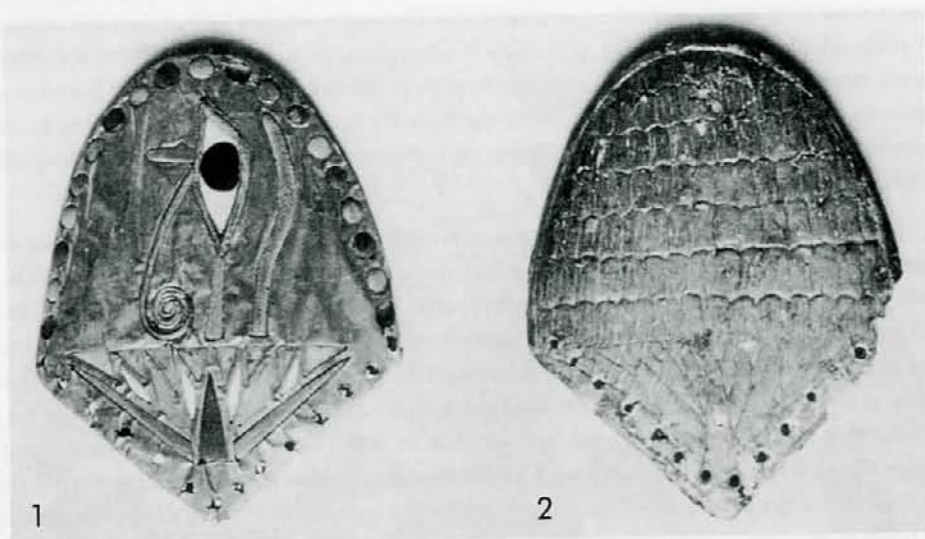


Fig. 36: Two blinkers from the tomb of Tutankhamun (photo: H. Burton). Scale 1:2.

palmette designs (Kenamun and Amenhotep II), and scale armor patterns (Tutankhamun) are all conceived by the artists as if the long dimension of the blinker were the vertical axis of the design. This seems most fitting for the iconography of the royal ceremonial chariot. The trappings are not oriented for recognition by the foe in battle, rather they are more an extension of the royal power; they are oriented toward and envisaged in relation to the royal driver and his onslaught. The wedjat-eye, a highly potent apotropaic symbol, on a pair of blinkers from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Fig. 36,1), is, nevertheless, oriented horizontally. The reason for this may well be that the eye is conceived of as moving forward with the chariot and, hence, averting evil ahead of the chariot's advance in battle. Likewise, it is obvious that the wedjat-eye would be positioned on the surface of the blinker in a definite relation to the eye of the horse that the blinker covers. This has been done in spite of the fact that the lotus blossom which fills the triangular portion of the blinker is oriented in the opposite direction. On the basis of these New Kingdom blinkers of a form and type imitated by the maker of the electrum and silver appliqué, the orientation of this figurative grouping of demon, warriors and sphinxes is only what might be expected.¹¹

If the 'Schatzhaus' is really to be understood as a funerary monument as the excavators have argued, this blinker, a ceremonial luxury item with a religious or mythological scene of an apotropaic nature, would not be entirely out of place. Although objects made of precious metals as well as weapons and an incomplete set of scale armor were found in the excavations, no other readily definable horse trappings or chariot parts appeared. It is doubtful that the tomb ever contained a chariot and a complete set of horse trappings.¹² However, several fragments were excavated of a small object made of silver overlaid with gold foil that depicts the Mesopotamian

11 Horse blinkers of the first millennium show that the decorative designs could be orientated in either direction although the wedjat-eye and the apotropaic forward striding composite animals are placed horizontally when the blinker is viewed as if attached to the bridle. See, for example, J.J. Orchard, *Equestrian Bridle-Harness Ornaments, Ivories from Nimrud (1949-1963)*, Fasc. 1, Part 2, Aberdeen 1967, *passim*. An example of a North Syrian blinker of the Iron Age now in Athens and made many centuries later than the appliqué under discussion, has a figurative scene in relief showing the hero grasping two lions. See I.J. Winter, *North Syria as a Bronzeworking Centre in the Early First Millennium B.C.: Luxury Commodities at Home and Abroad*, in: J. Curtis (ed.), *Bronze Working Centres of Western Asia, c. 1000-539 B.C.*, London and New York 1988, p. 70 and pl. 128 (upside down). This antithetical composition of hero and animals is oriented horizontally when the blinker is viewed as if attached to the bridle.

12 Apparently fragmentary horse trappings decorated with gold were found in the Middle Bronze tomb of the Lord of the Goats at Ebla. P. Matthiae, in: *Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 1980, p. 102.



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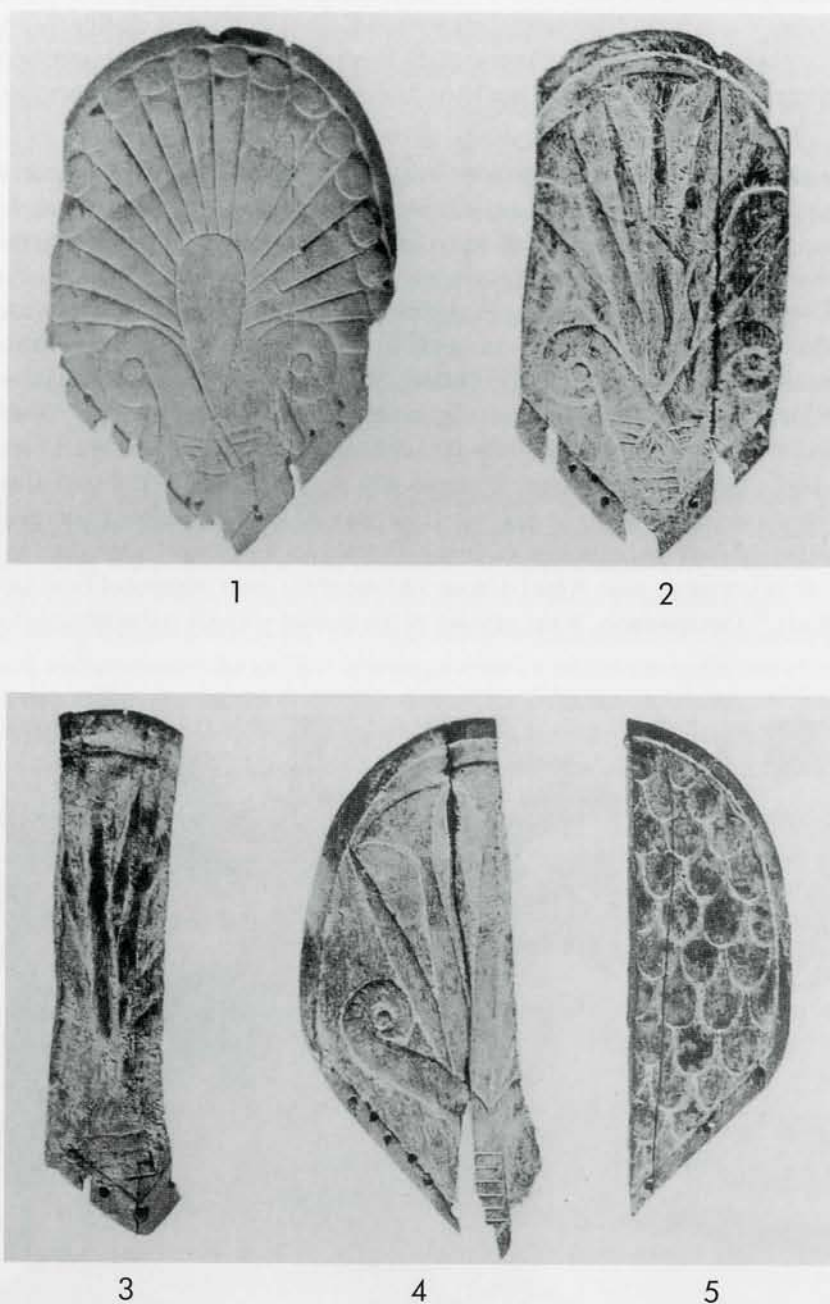


Fig. 37. Wooden blinkers from the tomb of Amenhotep II. - L. of no. 1 = 11.2 cm., L. of no. 2 = 12.0 cm., L. of no. 3 = 11.0 cm., L. of no. 4 = 11.0 cm., L. of no. 5 = 11.6 cm. according to G. Daressy, Vallée des rois).

suppliant goddess Lama.¹³ The figure must have been repeated several times on a possibly trapezoidal shaped appliqué with a guilloche border edged with perforations for fastening the appliqué to another material.¹⁴ With so little of the object preserved, it is difficult to determine exactly its original shape or its function. J. Boese has studied the fragments in detail and offers several suggestions for the object type including the possibility that the fragments may have belonged to a decorated horse bridle frontlet or chest piece.¹⁵ This interpretation should be given greater weight now that the electrum and silver blinker is introduced as having possibly come from the 'Schatzhaus'¹⁶

The use of gold foil over a silver backing on the fragments with the suppliant goddesses in relief and the related technique of a thin sheet of electrum with cut-out figures joined to a silver backing, such as in the blinker under discussion, are not widespread metal working techniques in the ancient Near East in the second millennium. A third piece from the art market that may also be attributed to the 'Schatzhaus' is a small 'axe' with the face of an animal (Pl. 22,4.5).¹⁶ The silver core of this object is coated with a thick gold foil. A predilection for using a combination of silver with gold in the Levant in the Middle Bronze Age is evidenced by several pieces from Byblos such as the scimitar from Tomb II,¹⁷ however, the Kāmid el-Lōz examples are virtually unique west of Iran, although future excavations will undoubtedly provide a more extensive picture.¹⁸ Gold foil is commonly used in Egypt, and there are examples of gold used in combination with silver such as on a small vial from the Middle Bronze Age treasure from Tod, a group of objects with clear foreign connections. It is not until late in the reign of Amenhotep III from the tomb of Yuya that we have a variety of objects using both gold and silver.¹⁹ In the post-Amarna period there are, of course, the many objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun which evidence a markedly foreign or Levantine taste. It is of interest that one of the small blinkers of Tutankhamun is made of electrum over silver.²⁰ Consequently, in the opinion of the present writer it is doubtful that the technique of



Fig. 38: Horses of a chariot with blinkers. Detail of a wooden box from the tomb of Tutankhamun (according to M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crowell, *Chariots of Tutankhamun*).

combining gold over silver was inspired by Egyptian prototypes. In accord with this assumption, it is noteworthy that in the annals of Tuthmosis III of the fifteenth century reference is made to gold and silver chariots brought back from Megiddo, Qadesh, and the land of the Retenu.

Although the blinker and goddess fragments are executed in two totally different styles – the one in a second millennium Canaanite or Phoenician style to be discussed below and the other in a derivative Old Babylonian style – one is hesitant to separate widely the periods in which they were made because of the seemingly almost unique gold and silver metal working technique. While rightly pointing out the difficulties involved, Boese argues for a date for the Lama figures before the middle of the reign of Hammurabi and suggests that the fragments were made in Mari, Babylonia, or possibly in North Syria imitating an older Babylonian model.²¹ This would mean that the object was made several centuries before the other objects from the 'Schatzhaus' and then retained somewhere as an heirloom. The early date is based on the observation of Moortgat that the divine horned crown as depicted on large scale relief is not rendered in true profile before the reign of Hammurabi of Babylonia. Cylinder seals indicate, however, that the horned crown depicted *en face*, but worn by a figure shown in profile, continued to be used until the end of the Old Babylonian period.²² Furthermore, we do not know how long such a horned crown type may have lasted in areas outside of Babylonia as is evidenced by the crown of a suppliant goddess on impressions of the seal of Idrimi from level IV of Alalakh.²³

Canaanite or Phoenician art that developed in the Levant during the late second millennium was highly dependent for stylistic and iconographic inspiration upon the arts of the surrounding regions. Elements of the arts of Egypt to the south, and of Syria to the west and north, of Anatolia to the north, of Mesopotamia to the east and even of the Aegean to the west, were fused with local styles to produce an art which differentiated itself from the art of the regions from which it borrowed. The results of this outright eclecticism frequently produced works of originality, taste, and aesthetic value and just as often produced works of a bungling and offensive nature. An analysis of the basic iconography and the descriptive elements of dress, accoutrements, etc. help to understand how the image came into being, but due to the very eclectic nature of these elements, they rarely offer a precise means of dating nor do they offer an assured formula for determining where a certain work was made.

The main grouping of the demonic figure and the antithetically placed heroes is a theme that has a long history in the ancient Near East. It is a motif that some believe can be associated with the myth of the hero Gilgamesh and his friend Enkidu slaying the demon Huwawa.²⁴ First millennium examples of this heraldic scheme in which the heroes' legs are interlocked with the demon's legs in a manner similar to the composition on the

13 Representations of the suppliant goddess or Lama have a long history inside Mesopotamia as well as outside lasting well into the latter part of the second millennium. See A. Spycket, *La déesse Lama*, in: *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* 54, 1960, pp. 73-84.

14 R. Miron, *Kāmid el-Lōz* 10, nos. 63-79; R. Hachmann, in: *Berytus* 37, p. 125 pl. 2.

15 J. Boese, in: *Frühe Phöniker*, pp. 105-110.

16 See Chr. Lilyquist, chapter 7.2, no. 015.

17 P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte. Quatre campagnes de fouilles à Gebeili 1921-22-23-24*. Atlas (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 11), Paris 1929, pls. 99f. no. 653; see also pl. 102 no. 655 and pl. 103 nos. 705-706.

18 The use of gold foil over bitumen and gold foil over silver and bitumen in Middle Elamite Iran is discussed by P.R.S. Moorey: *The Technique of Gold-Figure Decoration on Achaemenid Silver Vessels and its antecedents*, in: *Iranica Antiqua* 23, 1988, pp. 240-242. J. Boese, in: *Frühe Phöniker*, p. 108, points to the Elamite helmet in the Metropolitan Museum in his discussion of the gold foil on silver technique.

19 See Chr. Lilyquist, *Descriptive Notes from the Valley*, in: Cyril Aldred memorial volume, in press.

20 M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwel, *Chariots of Tut^{ankhamūn}*, pl. 62.

21 J. Boese, in: *Frühe Phöniker*, p. 108.

22 Divinities on seals rolled on tablets dated to Samsudīta still wear the frontal crown, albeit executed in a somewhat summary style. E. Klengel-Brandt, *Siegelabrollungen auf altbabylonischen Tontafeln aus Babylon*, in: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 10, 1983, sealings 32 and 33, pp. 87f. I am deeply indebted to E. Porada for this reference.

23 D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (*Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments* 27), Kevelaer u. Neukirchen 1975, sealing 189 pp. 99 and 169.

24 See the full discussion by W.G. Lambert, *Gilgamesh in Literature and Art: The Second and First Millennia*, in: A.E. Farkas, P.O. Harper and E.B. Harrison (eds.), *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds. Papers presented in Honor of E. Porada*, Mainz 1987, pp. 37-52.

appliqué are known from reliefs of North Syria, from 'Phoenician bowls', and from an ivory plaque.²⁵ The heroes usually attack the demon with one arm and grasp one of the crossed hands with the other. In no case does the demon seem to be bound with ropes or straps as he is on the blinker. Because of these examples, the scheme of three figures with interlocked legs is usually taken to be an Iron Age motive. Although the present writer can point to only one example, it is quite clear that the essence of the composition of interlocked legs can be traced back into second millennium iconography by means of a seal of Mitannian style and perhaps of Iranian origin in the Louvre (AO 6516) of the fifteenth or fourteenth century (Fig. 39).²⁶ On the seal a central figure grasping serpents intertwines his legs with two winged seated deities wearing conical crowns who are supported by bulls. This Mitannian conception was undoubtedly passed to the west with the spread of Mitanni and thenceforth became a popular device in the art of the Iron Age. Although Gilgamesh, Enkidu and Hawawa are probably not represented on this appliqué, it may be possible in the future to determine how this old Near Eastern iconography was reinterpreted in light of Canaanite mythology and religion. The dispatching of a bound demonic figure must certainly have to do with the control and banishment of evil and, hence, would have been an iconographically appropriate theme for the decoration of a horse blinker used in association with a royal chariot.

Whether this leonine demon was somehow related to or confused with the Egyptian god Bes is a somewhat moot question. The leonine aspects of the head, the skirt with a long front fold usually on Bes figures of non-Egyptian origin, and the bowed legs are all characteristics of many renderings of Bes; however, in this case the interlocked, hence bowed, legs suggest that the figure is derived from a source other than Bes.²⁷

If the renderings of certain details of dress, attributes and other particulars do not provide a means for securely dating the blinker, they are instructive in illuminating some of the sources for the imagery of the composition. The demon wears a wide belt with rounded ends and a banded border. Actual examples of metal belts with rounded ends seem to begin in the Middle Bronze Age and have been excavated in Egypt at Tell el-Dab'a, in Palestine at Jerico and Tell el-Far'ah, at Ras Shamra on the coast, and at Kültepe in Anatolia.²⁸ Representations of such belts with banded borders are prevalent on Syrian bronzes of the first half of the second millennium, on the weather god stele from Ras Shamra probably of the seventeenth century, and elsewhere.²⁹ They last, however, into the Late Bronze Age as is evidenced by the Hittite style bronze from the Latakia region in Syria and by the famed warrior figure on the relief from Boğazköy.³⁰ Tall conical crowns are widespread in the Levant in the second millennium, and crowns with a projecting pair of horns are known³¹; however, the demon also has a pair of horns which spring forth from his brow. Such horns are not prevalent, but they do appear on the head of the suckling goddess on one of ivory bed panels from Ras Shamra of the early fourteenth century.³²

The sickle swords or scimitars wielded by the warriors or heroes are of a type that lasted over a long period of time in the Bronze Age. It is perhaps of interest that a bronze sickle sword with a grooved rib on the blade was

25 Cf. the references cited by W.G. Lambert, *op. cit.* p. 47.

26 L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres*, pl. 85,9 (A. 607). A drawing of the seal appears in: E. Herzfeld, *Die Kunst des zweiten Jahrtausends in Vorderasien, Teil II*, in: *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus dem Iran* 9, 1938, p. 4 fig. 150. The drawing is reproduced in W. St. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East. A Study of the Relationship between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia*, New Haven and London 1965, fig. 154, c.

27 A very good example of a Bes figure made outside of Egypt showing the leonine head and the skirt with long front fold is one of the ivories from the Megiddo hoard. G. Loud, *Megiddo Ivories*, pl. 8.

28 The belts are conveniently collected and illustrated in: I. Ziffer, *At that time the Canaanites were in the land*, Tel Aviv 1990, pp. *75f. 101f., figs. 114-117.

29 For representative bronzes see H. Seiden, *The Standing Armed Figurines in the Levant* (*Prähistorische Bronzefunde* I,1), München 1980, pls. 23-27. For the weather god see W. Orthmann, *Der alte Orient*, pls. 335a-b; 348.

30 W. Orthmann, *op. cit.* pls. 335a-b; 348.

31 For example, the spiked crown of the Ras Shamra weather god has projecting horns (H. Seiden, *op. cit.*, n. 29) as does the crown of the seated god on a fourteenth century stele from Ras Shamra: H. Weiss (ed.), *From Ebla to Damascus. Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria*, Washington D.C. 1985, p. 299 fig. 151.

32 The bed panel is conveniently reproduced in: W. Orthmann, *Der alte Orient*, pl. 427.



Fig. 39. Seal in the Louvre. Scale 2.1 according to L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres*).

actually excavated in the 'Schatzhaus'.³³ The tasseled skirts of the warriors with a vertical decorated band or edging are carefully delineated, but, again, they cannot be precisely localized or dated.³⁴

Sphinxes with two side locks and a third curl at the back of the head first appear in the Near East in Anatolia during the period of the merchant colonies of the Middle Bronze Age on ivories carved in relief. At that time, the two side locks both curl in the same direction, and it seems that the front curl is actually part of the Hathor-like headdress that characterizes the ivory sphinxes carved in the round.³⁵ Whether these ivories are the result of a direct contact with Egypt in the Middle Bronze Age, or whether they are derived from pre-existing Syrian sources is not entirely clear. Later, the side locks usually curl toward each other and are found on many representations of griffins and perhaps sphinxes of the Late Bronze Age.³⁶ The wings of the sphinxes have a scale pattern extending along the entire length of the wrist and have a double line separating the scales from the feathers, some of which are delineated with a double line. Such a wing is most closely paralleled by the wing of a sphinx supporting a throne on an incised ivory from Megiddo of Late Bronze II date, even though the wing of the

33 R. Hachmann, in: *Berytus* 37, p. 131, pl. 5,4; R. Miron, *Kāmid el-Lōz* 10, pl. 12,4. Although the corrosion makes it difficult to be certain, it appears as if the sword held by the warrior on the left side of the appliqué is of the ribbed type.

34 Tasseled skirts are found frequently in the art of Mitanni and Syria. See, for example, E. Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi*, in: *AASOR* 24 (1944-1945), p. 18, n. 17. See also a fourteenth century Assyrian example: E. Porada, et al. (eds.), *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North America Collections I* (The Bollingen Series 14), Text. Plates, Washington D.C. 1948, no. 592 p. 68 and pl. LXXXII. Other than in seals, the tasseled skirt appears in the Levant, for example, on one of the ivory bed panels from Ras Shamra, F.-A. Schaeffer, *Les fouilles de Ras Shamra – Ugarit, quinzième, seizième et dix-septième campagnes* (1951, 1952 et 1953). *Rapport Sommaire*, in: *Syria* 31, 1954, pl. X., and on the dress of warriors on one of the ivory panels from Megiddo probably of the fourteenth century: G. Loud, *Megiddo Ivories*, pls. 32-33. None of these tassels, however, are similar to those of the figures on the blinkers. The actual skirt with parallel horizontal rows of decoration, perhaps embroidery, and a heavy vertical band or edging recalls particularly the skirt of the bronze figure from the Latakia region as well the Hittite warrior relief: *op. cit.*, n. 32.

35 P. Harper, *Dating a group of ivories from Anatolia*, in: *The Connoisseur*, Nov. 1969, p. 158 fig. 4, p. 160 fig. 8.

36 See G. Loud, *Megiddo Ivories*, pls. 5,7-9,32.

Megiddo sphinx has two rows of feathers.³⁷ The scale pattern of the wing is carried down the back of the sphinxes and ends in what must be interpreted as the tail feathers of a falcon. Such tail feathers on the back of a sphinx appear in Egypt as early as the Old Kingdom but are frequently found on representations of sphinxes on objects of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty: stelae and a wooden box cover of Amenhotep II, wooden panels of Tuthmosis IV, and a chair panel of Amenhotep III.³⁸ The falcon tails of the sphinxes on the blinker are less like the presently very rare representations in the Near East which include the sphinx and winged bull with two tail feathers on the gold bowl from Ras Shamra of the fourteenth century and a sphinx of the Iron Age on a relief from Carchemish.³⁹ Yet such lappet-like, falcon tail feathers had already appeared in the Near Eastern repertory in the eighteenth century at Mari in the painting of sphinxes flanking the investiture of Zimri-lim where they must be ultimately derived from the west.⁴⁰

The blinker is finely made and the incised drawing is executed with a boldness and assuredness. Proportions of the body parts in relation to the whole figure were not something of primary concern to the artist as is evidenced by the extraordinary large hands of the demon and the large feet of both the demon and the warriors. Stylistic parallels for the drawing which in some areas is highly schematic, are difficult to present, although certain general similarities such as the form of the warriors' heads might be pointed to in other works of Canaanite art. There are two aspects, however, to the style of the blinker which need to be mentioned. The first concerns the head of the demon which appears both leonine and human at the same time. The broad forehead, the curve of the brows, the slanting eyes, and the pointed chin are all features that resemble quite markedly the relief head on a beaker from Ebla, and places the demon head within this Syrian tradition. The beaker was found in Level IIIB of Mardikh which was destroyed circa 1600 B.C.⁴¹ The second concerns the composition of the blinker with three interlocked figures standing on sphinxes which in turn are placed atop curved floral stems. The demon and heroes are not related to the sphinxes as they might be if the sphinxes had been conceived of as attributes of the figures above, a scheme quite common in second millennium iconography. Rather, the support afforded by the sphinxes is totally visual. This placement of figures almost floating in a free space and forming an all-over pattern is something that is characteristically Mitannian, and in the composition it is to the Mitannian style that this Canaanite appliqué is indebted.

Above Christine Lilyquist has discussed both certain objects found in the 'Schatzhaus' and some objects that have appeared on the art market which may be attributed to the 'Schatzhaus' (chapter 7). She concludes that these objects may be dated within a Late Bronze Age span from about 1550 B.C. to 1390 B.C. prior to the Amarna era, that is, in terms of Egyptian chronology from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty through the reign of Tuthmosis IV. None of the details of the blinker preclude such a date; indeed, it fits comfortably within this time range. In the present state of our knowledge of the Levant, however, it is possible that the blinker may be proven to date slightly earlier or even later.

37 G. Loud, *op. cit.*, pl. 4.2. The ivory has been dated as late as the thirteenth century by H. Liebowitz, *Late Bronze II Ivory Work in Palestine: Evidence of a Cultural Highpoint*, in: *BASOR* 265, 1987, (p. 5), where earlier references are given.

38 Summary drawings of these sphinxes are conveniently collected together in A. Dessenne, *Le Sphinx. Étude iconographique I: Des origines à la fin du Second Millénaire* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 196), Paris 1957, pls. XVII-XVIII.

39 For a drawing of the Ras Shamra bowl sphinx see A. Dessenne, *op. cit.* pl. XXVIII, 332, and for the Carchemish relief see Sir Leonard Woolley, *Carchemish. Report on the Excavation at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum* 3. The Excavations in the Inner Town, London 1952, pl. B.48a.

40 E. Strommenger, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien*, München 1962, pl. XXIX.

41 I am grateful to E. Porada for first pointing out this resemblance to me. For the beaker see W. Orthmann, *Der alte Orient*, pl. 423a. For the destruction of Mardikh IIIB see recently P. Matthiae, *Masterpieces of Early and Old Syrian Art: Discoveries of the 1988 Ebla Excavations in a Historical Perspective*, Mortimer Wheeler Archeological Lecture, in: *Proceedings of the British Academy* 75, 1989, p. 29 and n. 32.

TAFELN

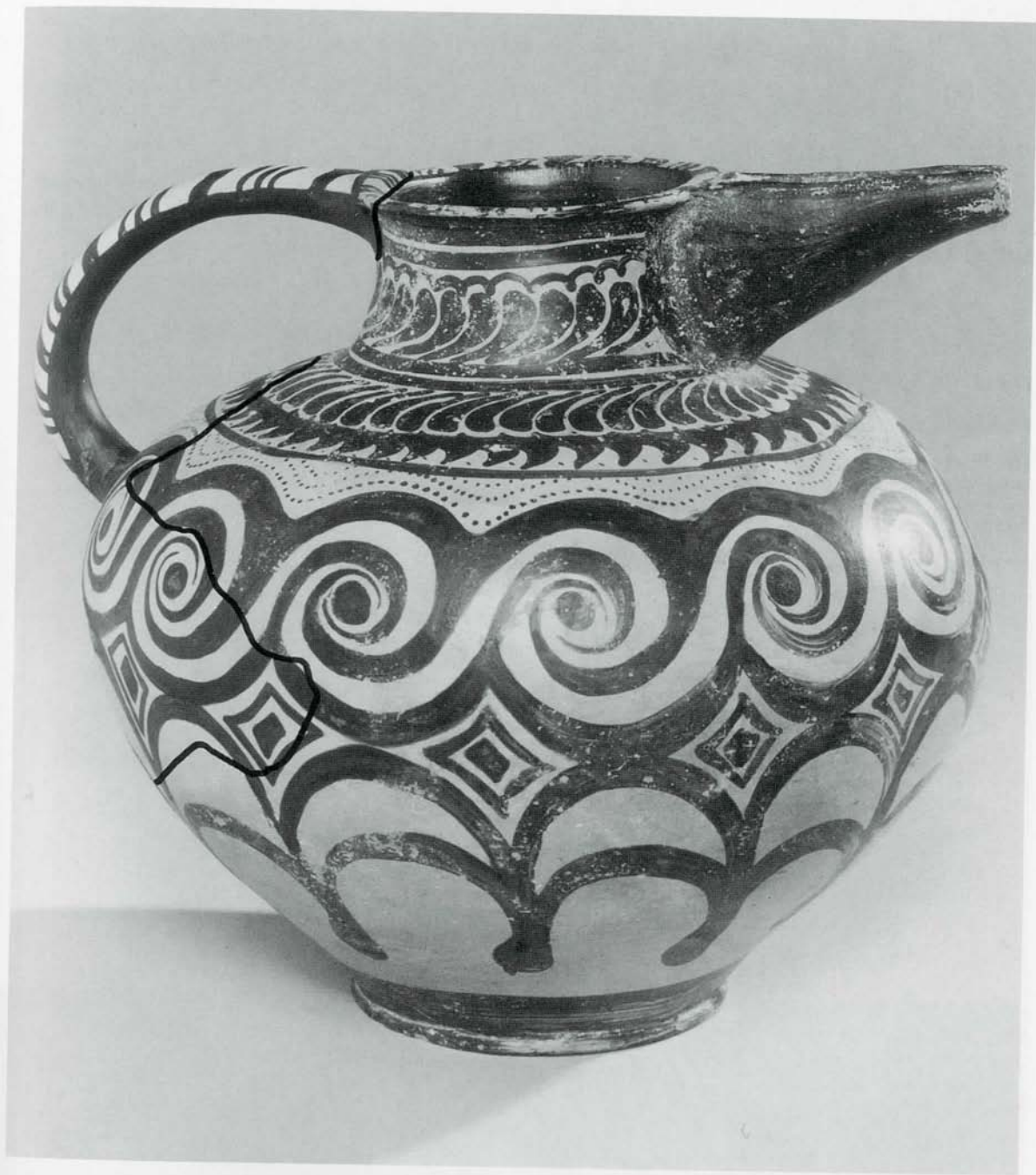
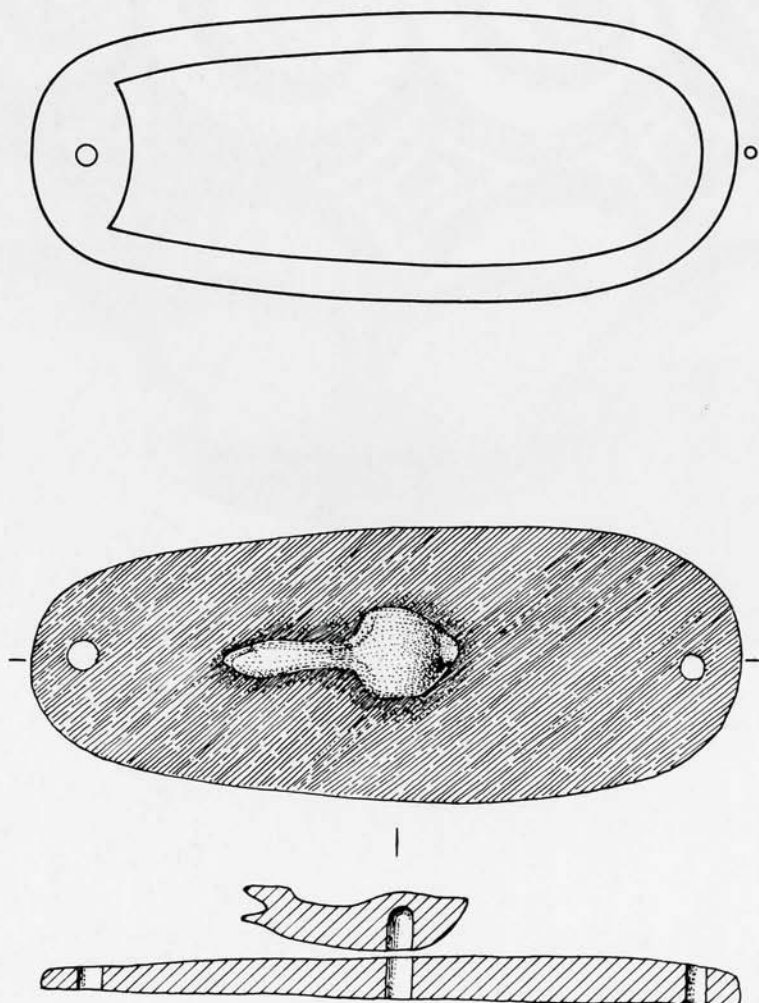


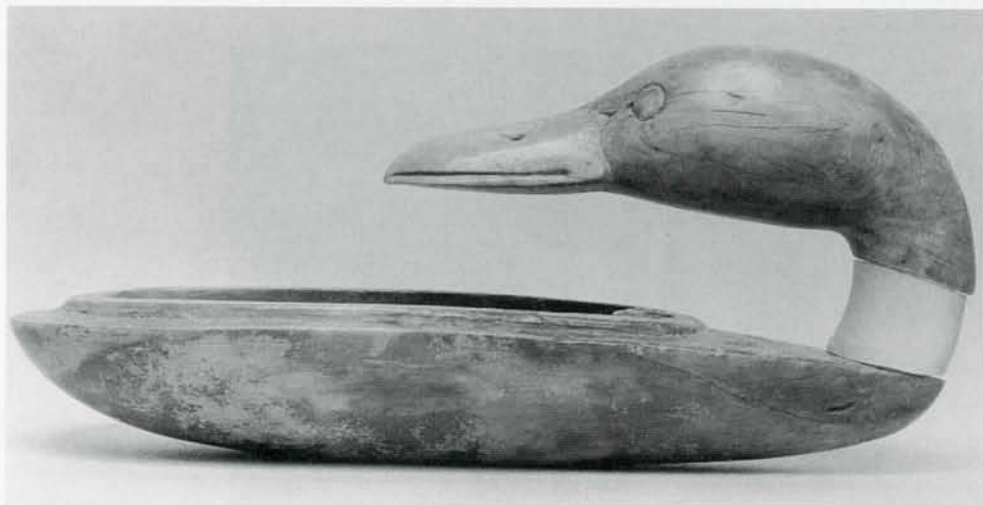
PLATE 17

No. 05, head and bowl of one or two ivory duck dishes, from the art market, attributed to Kāmid el-Lōz chapter 7.2). Fig. 4 shows the rim of the bowl above and the lid Miron no. 511 from the 'Schatzhaus' of Kāmid el-Lōz (below) which could belong to the bowl 05.

TAFEL 17

Kopf und Körper 05 von einer oder zwei Elfenbeinpyxiden in Wasservogelform, aus dem Kunsthandel, angeblich aus Kāmid el-Lōz (Abschn. 7.2). Fig. 4 zeigt oben eine Draufsicht der Deckelauflage, unten den möglicherweise zugehörigen Deckel Miron 511 aus Grabkammer T des 'Schatzhauses'





1



2



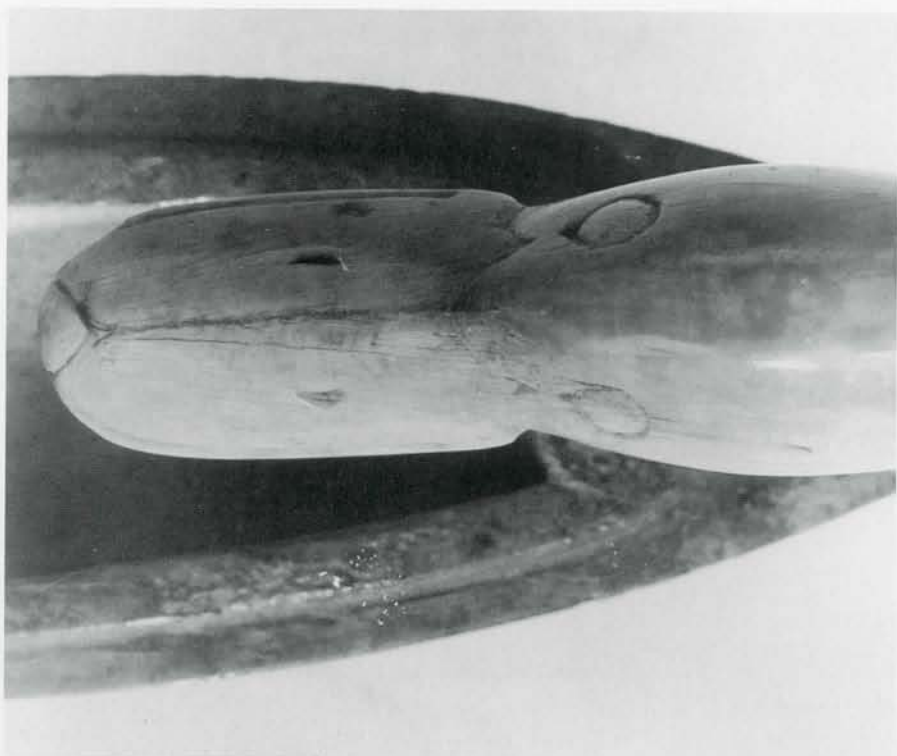
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PLATE 18

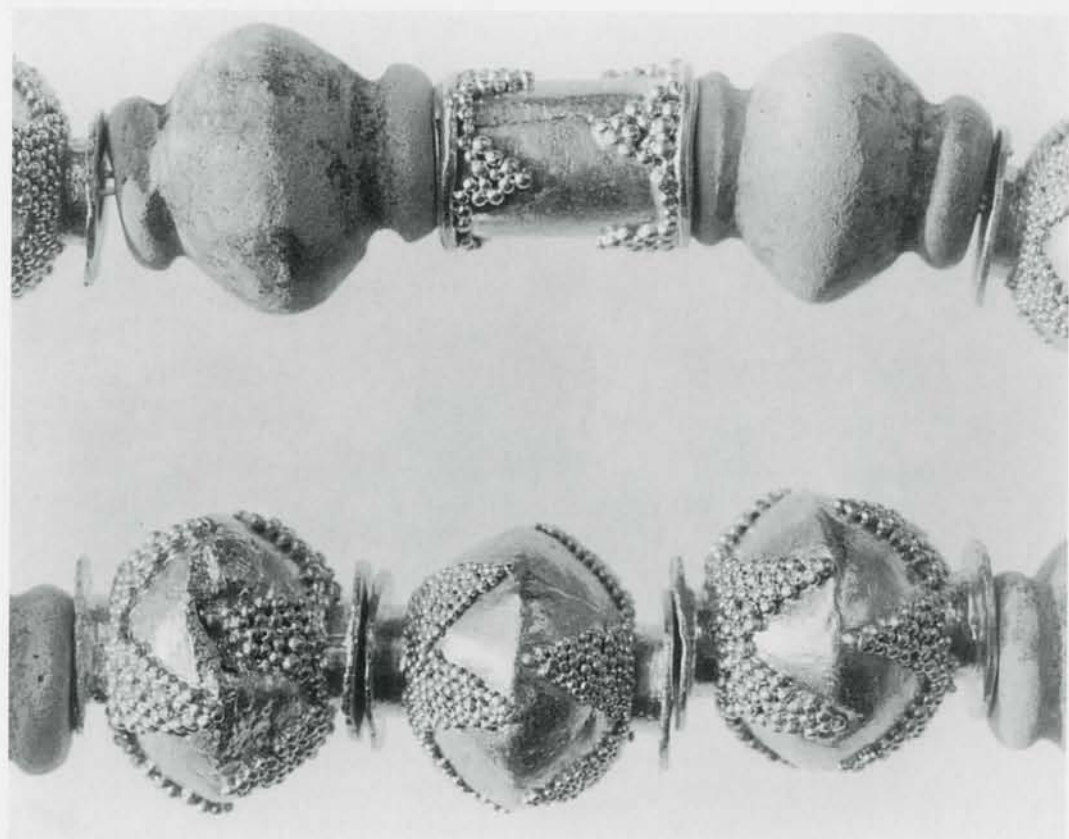
- 1 = Detail of the ivory duck dish 05 (see Pl. 17; chapter 7.2).
- 2 = Beads 02-04, made of gold and blue frit; from the art market, attributed to Kāmid el-Lōz (see Pls. 19-20; chapter 7.2).

TAFEL 18

- 1 = Detail der Elfenbeinpyxis 05 (vgl. Taf. 17· Abschn. 7.2).
- 2 = Perlen 02-04 aus Gold und blauer Fritte, aus dem Kunsthandel, angeblich aus Kāmid el-Lōz (vgl. Taf. 19.20; Abschn. 7.2).



1



2

PLATE 19

Beads 02-04, made of gold and blue frit; from the art market, attributed to Kāmid el-Lōz (see Pls. 18,2; 20; chapter 7.2).

TAFEL 19

Perlen 02-04 aus Gold und blauer Fritte, aus dem Kunsthandel, angeblich aus Kāmid el-Lōz (vgl. auch Taf. 18,2; 20; Abschn. 7.2).

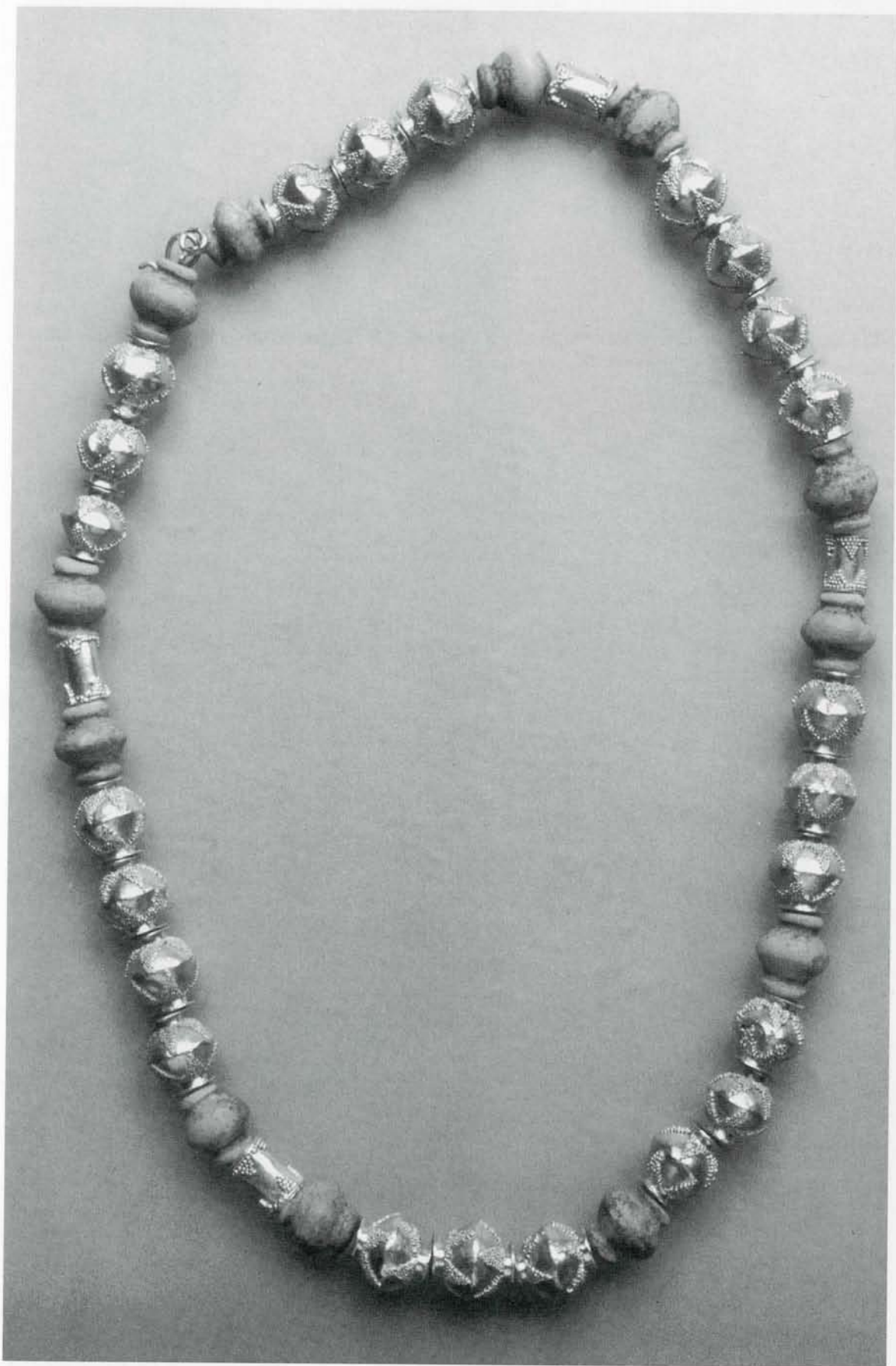


PLATE 20

Beads 02-04, made of gold and blue frit; from the art market, attributed to Kāmid el-Lōz (see Pls. 18,2; 19; chapter 7.2).

TAFEL 20

Perlen 02-04 aus Gold und blauer Fritte, aus dem Kunsthandel, angeblich aus Kāmid el-Lōz (vgl. auch Taf. 18,2; 19; Abschn. 7.2).

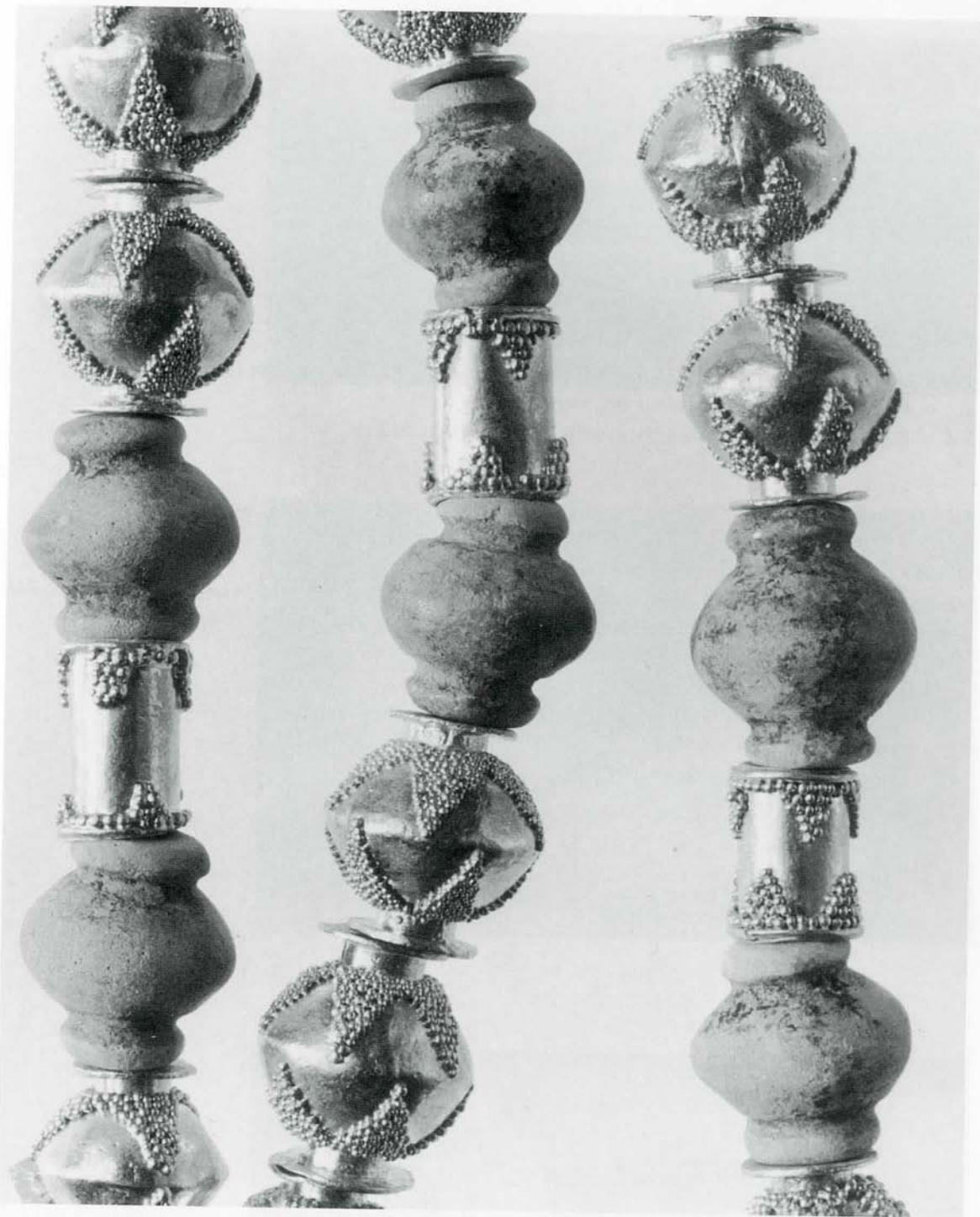


PLATE 21

Bone and ivory objects 08-012 from the art market; possibly from Kāmid el-Lōz (chapter 7.2):

1 = Ivory plaque 012; bone button 08; ivory pin 011

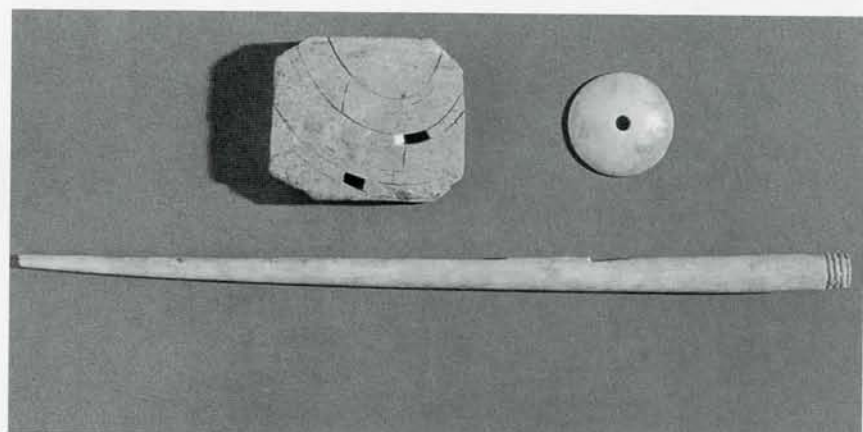
2-3 = Bone button 09; decorated bone strips 010; bone tube 013

TAFEL 21

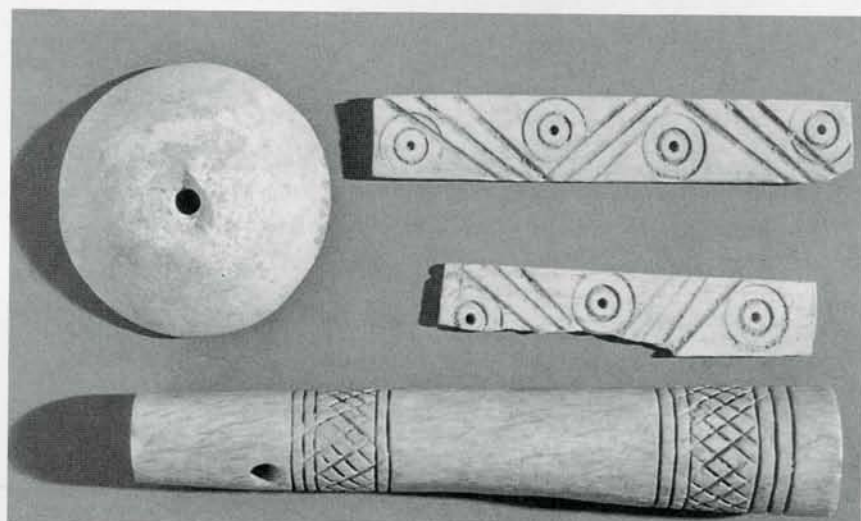
Knochen- und Elfenbeinobjekte 08-012 aus dem Kunsthandel; möglicherweise aus Kāmid el-Lōz (Abschn. 7.2):

1 = Elfenbeinplättchen 012; Knochenknopf 08; Elfenbeinnadel 011

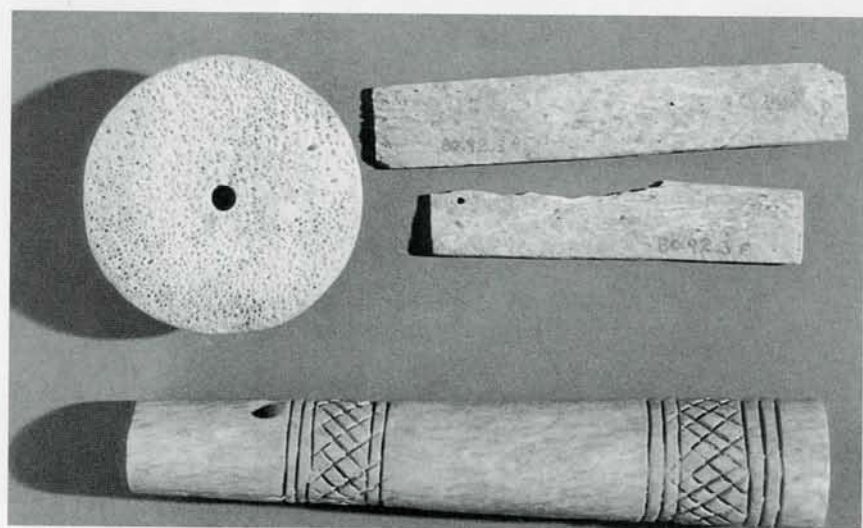
2-3 = Knochenknopf 09; verzierte Knochenplättchen 010; Knochenröhre 013



1



2



3

PLATE 23

Electrum and silver appliqué 017 of a blinker; from the art market, possibly from Kāmid el-Lōz (cf. Pls. 24; 25; 26; Fig. 35, p. 222; chapter 7.2; 8).

TAFEL 23

Silbernes Scheuklappen-Blech 017, mit Elektron-Auflage; aus dem Kunsthandel, angeblich aus Kāmid el-Lōz (vgl. auch Taf. 24; 25; 26; Abb. 35, S. 222; Abschn. 7.2; 8).

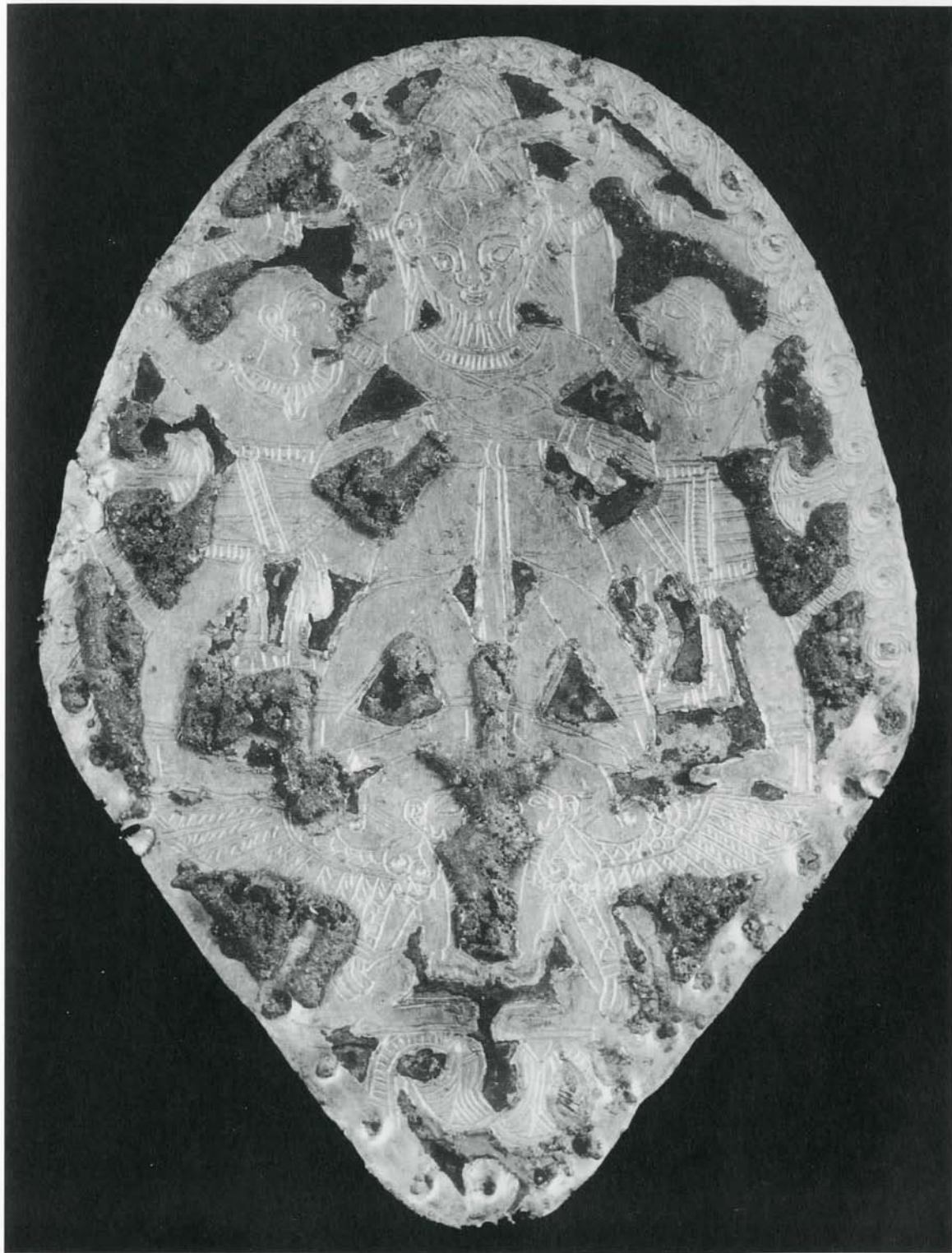


PLATE 24

Details of the electrum and silver appliqué 017 of a blinker; from the art market, possibly from Kāmid el-Lōz (cf. Pls. 23; 25; 26; Fig. 35, p. 222; chapter 7.2; 8).

TAFEL 24

Details des silbernes Scheuklappen-Blech 017 mit Elektron-Auflage; aus dem Kunsthandel, angeblich aus Kāmid el-Lōz (vgl. auch Taf. 23; 25; 26; Abb. 35, S. 222; Abschn. 7.2; 8).



1



2

PLATE 25

Detail of the electrum and silver appliqué 017 of a blinker; from the art market, possibly from Kāmid el-Lōz (cf. Pls. 23; 24; 26; Fig. 35, p. 222; chapter 7.2; 8).

TAFEL 25

Detail des silbernes Scheuklappen-Bleches 017 mit Elektron-Auflage; aus dem Kunsthandel, angeblich aus Kāmid el-Lōz (vgl. auch Taf. 23; 24; 26; Abb. 35, S. 222; Abschn. 7.2; 8).

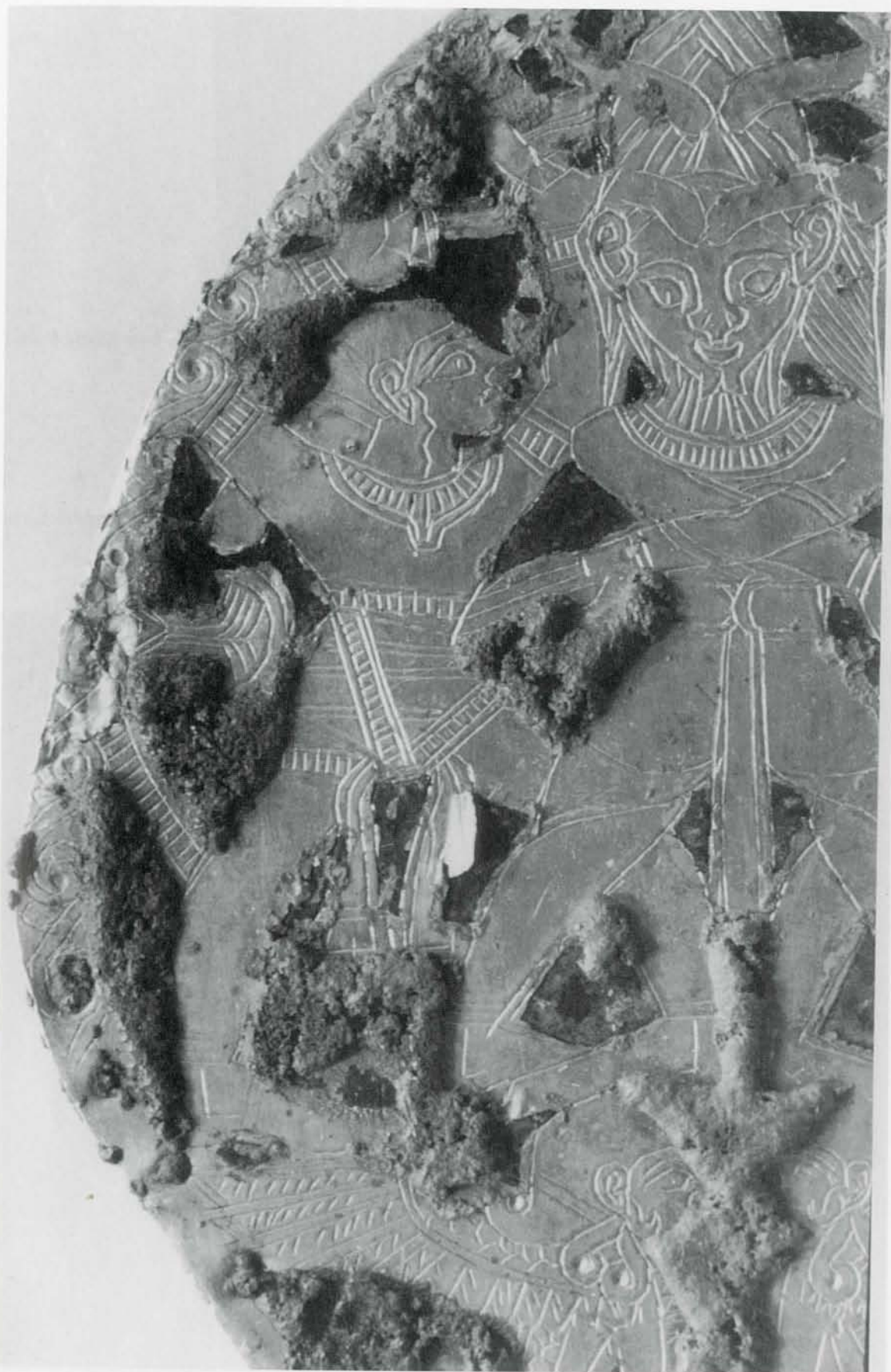
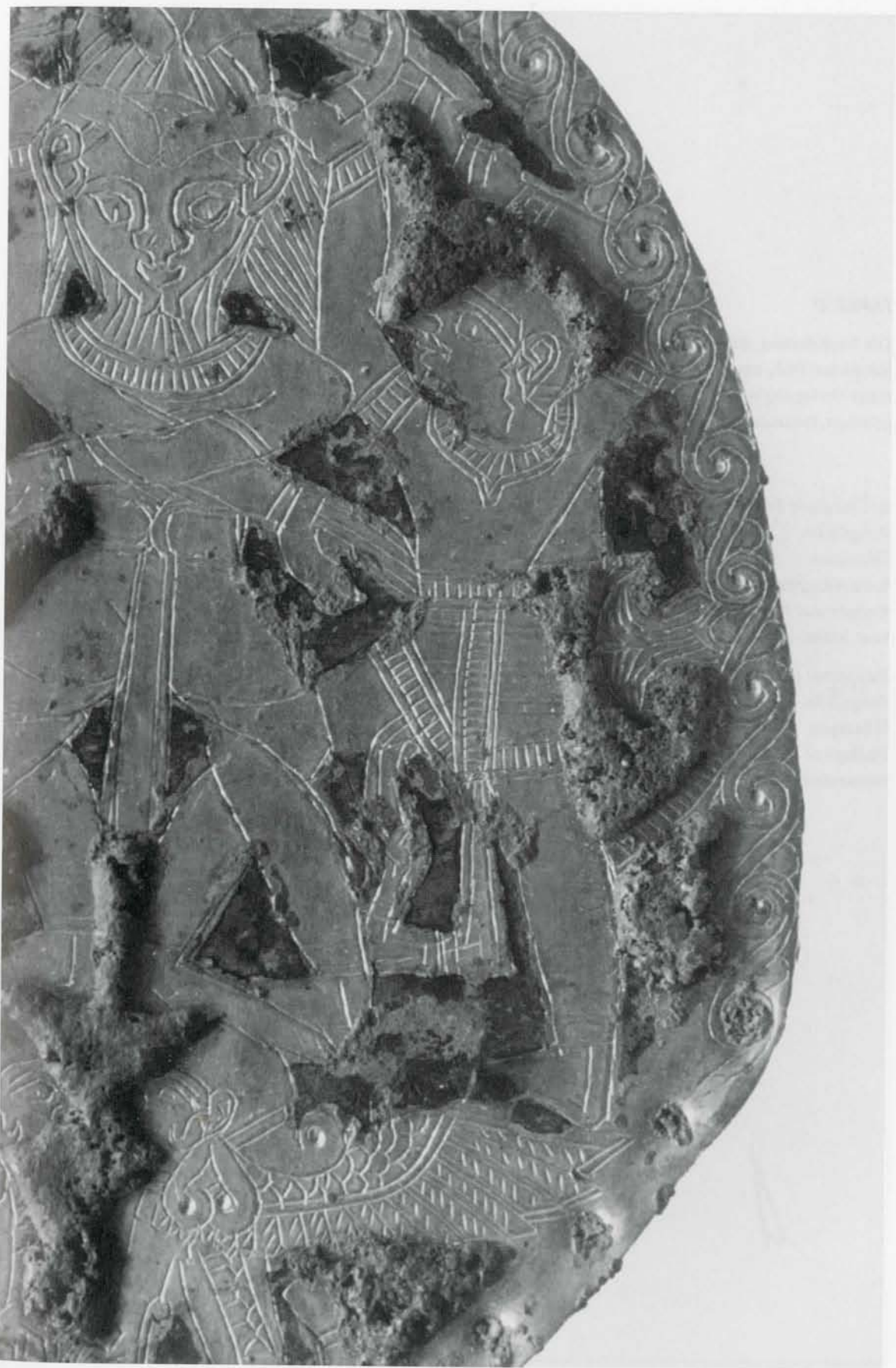


PLATE 26

Detail of the electrum and silver appliqué 017 of a blinker; from the art market, possibly from Kāmid el-Lōz (cf. Pls. 23; 24; 25; Fig. 35, p. 222; chapter 7.2; 8).

TAFEL 26

Detail des silbernes Scheuklappen-Bleches 017 mit Elektron-Auflage; aus dem Kunsthandel, angeblich aus Kāmid el-Lōz (vgl. auch Taf. 23; 24; 25; Abb. 35, S. 222; Abschn. 7.2; 8).



9 LITERATUR- UND ABBILDUNGSVERZEICHNISSE

9.1 LITERATUR

9.1.1 Literaturabkürzungs- und Kurztitelverzeichnis

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Faltbeilagen

- Taf. 48 Verbreitung sämtlicher dreidimensional eingemessener Funde aus dem 'Schatzhaus'.
- Taf. 49 Verbreitung einzelner Fundgattungen (Waffen, Spielutensilien, Pyxiden aus Elfenbein, Knochenknöpfe, Trachtelemente) im 'Schatzhaus'.
- Taf. 50 Verbreitung der mindestens zu 2/3 erhaltenen Gefäße bzw. Öllampen aus Keramik, Fayence und Glas im 'Schatzhaus' des Baustadiums P4d.
- Taf. 51 Grundriß des 'Schatzhaus'-Bereiches am Ende der Bauschicht P5.
- Taf. 52 Grundriß des 'Schatzhauses' in Baustadium P4d.
- Taf. 53 Grundriß des 'Schatzhauses' in Baustadium P4b.
- Taf. 54 Grundriß des 'Schatzhauses' in Baustadium P4a.

